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HOW TEENS LEARN TEAMWORK: AGENTIC AND CONSTRUCTIVE PEER PROCESSES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Teamwork is widely proclaimed as a valuable contemporary skill set. Youth programs provide distinct opportunities for young people to develop collaborative competencies.

The current study examines the developmental experiences of teamwork in a residential summer camp setting. This dissertation analyzes youth's narratives about learning collaborative skills in a service program for teens at Camp Clore.

The data for this project includes 50 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with teenage participants in the Clore Corps, who ranged in age from 14 to 16. Modified grounded theory methods facilitated the use of narrative data from the youth themselves. This study examines the conscious ways teenagers learn teamwork, especially in terms of their agentic involvement in constructive processes of learning from peers.

The findings address the general question of how youth learn teamwork and the grounded theorization of positive processes in youth programs. Highlighting the roles of agency and peers, the analysis illustrates the rich diversity of ways that youth learn teamwork. Youth reiterated prosocial values as they found many ways to reconcile task challenges with complex interpersonal dynamics. Two categories of learning episodes were distinguished by youth's orientation toward their peers as they learned: Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars. Each of these sets of learning episodes received its own inductive, within-category analysis on the basis of their shared features. Youth acknowledging the human qualities of their peers was a pivotal motivation for accommodating and accepting in the Peers-as-People learning episodes. This allowed youth to restrain judgment and collaborate successfully with peers. For the Peers-as-Exemplars category, in contrast, youth actively drew on the example of their peers work and evaluated them. The evaluative processes stimulated learner's imaginative generation of skills, attitudes, insights, and principles of teamwork.

A prominent theme across both episode categories was youth's creativity and strategy as they learned teamwork. Youth demonstrated these qualities by drawing on peers as resources and actively developing teamwork knowledge and skills. Creative and strategic choices, intentions, and courses of action and thought in youth's teamwork constituted agency in their development. Peers' input in learning, moreover, was not absorbed or spread via contagion; rather, youth described making use of peers' involvement to determine their own course. The theme of creativity and strategy across episodes establishes agentic processes in conjunction with constructive peer processes, not despite or in addition to them. The contribution of this dissertation, then, sheds light on how youth learn prosocial skills in a way that is, at once, both agentic and constructively peer-driven.

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I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my grandfather, Victor Perry, the first kid to have to cancel a week at “Camp Clore” because he couldn't afford it and to Brennan Stewart, a camp teen whom I knew for almost a decade before his recent passing.

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Chapter One: Introduction

It's Laura, age 15, and two peers' turn to run the dishwasher at lunch. Two hundred campers make a big mess and Laura's coworkers are already arguing. Knowing their behavior is not mature or productive, Laura has something to tell them, but, for now, only thinks it to herself, "OK, you should stop. It's only wasting time." It is especially frustrating for her because, from her spot at the sink where she's spraying down plates, Laura can see the group cooperating to serve dessert. She is envious of their smooth collaboration and thinks, "they all work together because they already *know* [how to]." She mines their actions for something to take back to her own group: "If you just watch them, you're like, 'That looks cool. I'll try that.' It's easier to picture: 'OK, I can work like that.'" Laura is taking in what is going on with her peers around her and actively determining how she will proceed with teamwork, even in the face of quarrelsome peers and much work to be done.

Laura's example hints at the rich complexity of teens' developmental ecology. I premise this dissertation on the idea that paying attention to youth's stories, like this one, we can learn about how they understand their own learning, their own conscious developmental processes. In Laura's story, I see her active engagement with what her peers do, in order to improve her own collaborative skills. The central topic for this paper is how teenagers do this work of learning teamwork in youth programs.

Camp Clore as a Youth Development Program

At Camp Clore,¹ the summer camp where Laura is volunteering for three weeks of her summer, 50-odd teens rotate through a dozen different cleaning, serving, and construction jobs. Laura's days in the Clore Corps program are full of moments like the one above, where—with many models for action amidst complex, real-world interpersonal dynamics—it is up to her to decide how she acts and reacts (or not). Like many other teens at summer camps, Laura benefits from the communal environment and camp-wide focus on personal growth and learning (Fine, 2005; Garst, Browne, & Bialeschki, 2011; Vrooman, 2007). Programs like the Corps program are marked by having both goals and structures that promote both positive peer relationships and prosocial values (Durlak, Weissberg, & Pachan, 2010; Fredricks & Simpkins, 2013b; Larson, Jensen, Kang, Griffith, & Rompala, 2012). For Laura, the social situation of working with peers in the Clore Corps constitutes a "stage-environment fit" for how she is exercising agency in her own learning of teamwork (Eccles, 2004; Larson, 2000).

Cognitive Development in the Clore Corps

The particular cognitive shifts that Laura experiences as an adolescent underpin how she directs her own learning. Structural and maturational changes couple with experiences in the camp context to create the opportunities necessary to develop certain contingent skills (Kuhn, 2009). The peer-oriented and relational nature of the youth development experience at camp gives Laura the chance to hone her

¹ The name of the program and the people at camp in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

social thinking and learning in general (Feldberg, 2011; Fredricks & Simpkins, 2013b; Scales & Leffert, 1999). Moreover, in contrast with other settings in which youth find themselves, programs that are structured and voluntary allow for youth to be “producers of their own development,” exercising agency in their own learning (Larson, 2000; Lerner, 2002). Laura’s agency can be seen in how she takes nothing for granted, not the actions of her peers nor her reaction to the interpersonal situation. Rather, she negatively evaluates her co-workers’ choice to argue and redirects attention to alternate models of teamwork. On top of this, Laura makes further use of executive functioning and abstract, hypothetical thinking to self-regulate and take the initiative to plan new, possible courses of action (Collins & Steinberg, 2006).

Learning Teamwork in the Clore Corps

Cognitive, organismic processes, though, are not the only ones involved in Laura’s learning. Teamwork cannot be learned in a vacuum. Laura refers to various peers more than once in her account of a changing understanding of teamwork. Whereas the literature provides ample documentation of the negative “effects of peer influence,” Laura’s narrative offers evidence for the place of agency in *constructive* peer processes (Allen & Antonishak, 2008; Larson et al., 2012). Indeed, the way that youth author their own learning in conjunction with input from peers was a major finding of my prior analysis (Perry, 2013a) and serves as a starting point for this project.

Teamwork (considered here as a product of the learning processes described above) is widely proclaimed as a valuable contemporary skill set (Parker, Ninomiya, & Cogan, 1999; Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2011). The developmental work on *how* it is developed includes Selman’s stage model of perspective-taking (1980; 2003), Larson’s developmental process model in youth programs (Larson, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005), and my grounded theory model of learning teamwork at summer camp (Perry, 2013a; 2013b). Selman takes the narrowest approach to stipulating *what* is learned by focusing on perspective-taking, while Larson and Perry work inductively from youth’s own words to determine what constitutes teamwork.

The Current Project

Previously, I categorized Laura’s example with others where youth observed and assessed peers’ actions and then went on to adopt new teamwork strategies (Perry, 2013a). In the episode above, Laura can be seen considering her own collaborative style and forming an important basis for new ways of doing and understanding teamwork: “That looks cool. I’ll try that. Like it’s easier to picture. ‘OK, I can do that’ or ‘I can work like that.’” Laura did also report some insights that were more abstract and less particular to the situation about working together, such as “communicate to cooperate,” and general strategies for teamwork, such as “even if they don’t accept your way, just try to go with their way.”

Constructing her own intentions and ideas both from what she observes and from new insights, Laura was engaged in the undertaking of learning teamwork in the Clore Corps.

My initial grounded theorizing, suggesting the prominence of agentic and peer processes in learning, lay the foundation for the current project (Perry, 2013a; 2013b). The trend in the field toward conceptualizing teens as active, agentic learners (Kuhn, 2009; Lerner, 2002) couples with my earlier findings to highlight the productive possibility for agency within constructive peer processes. Laura's example, of observing good and bad role models but making her own sense of teamwork, epitomizes the creative, active ways that teens can learn teamwork with peers.

In this study, I examine the conscious ways teenagers learn teamwork, especially in terms of their agentic involvement in constructive peer processes. Examples like Laura's shed light on the remarkable developmental processes that adolescents participate in within supportive out-of-school settings, like camps. Researchers have documented a variety of prosocial outcomes in youth programs, even in camps specifically. Many experienced leaders, in contrast, have an intuitive grasp of the processes by which the outcomes come about and can make them happen. I propose that systematic work documenting youth's teamwork development can bridge this gap. Increasing knowledge of how teens learn teamwork can begin to build a common language understanding of the phenomenon.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Several different areas of research inform my approach to studying teens learning teamwork. Accordingly, in this section I trace the relevant issues across the pertinent literatures. Beginning with youth programs and summer camps, I examine work that documents these settings as uniquely significant in the development of adolescents who participate in such activities. Next, I describe theorization of the changes in and features of adolescent cognition that help me conceptualize learning in this project. I transition into the topic of adolescent peer processes as constructive and conscious, which leads into the developmental literature on teamwork. As this dissertation extends my prior analysis (Perry, 2013a), I move on to present some of the findings from that, which are important to the foundation of this paper. Finally, I position this dissertation project on teenagers at camp in terms of the reviewed work.

Camps and Youth Programs

A robust literature documents youth programs as unique contexts for positive development. Programs provide engaging and supportive environments, staffed by caring adults who take positive, asset-based approaches that further motivate youth (Lerner, 2005; Lerner, Phelps, Forman, & Bowers, 2009; Mahoney, Larson, & Eccles, 2005). As such, researchers are finding that many young participants are developing a broad array of skills that ought to help them flourish in the complex and dynamic ecologies that constitute their lives outside of programs and in future endeavors (Larson, 2011). In addition to diminishing risk behaviors (Lerner, 2004; Villarruel, Perkins, Borden, & Keith, 2003), youth programs offer a range of opportunities including to collaborate with peers in pursuit of a meaningful project, engage or partner with local institutions, interact with community members, and strive for personal development with the guidance of caring adult mentors (Eccles, 2005; Larson et al., 2004; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997).

Camps, furthermore, are recognized as an important subset of youth development settings (McNeely, 2004). Young persons' access to caring, supportive adults resembles that in other youth programs promoting positive development (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Indeed, much like in youth programs in general, a broad research base attests to favorable outcomes in a variety of domains for those involved in camp programs (American Camp Association, 2006; Bialeschki, Henderson, & James, 2007; Garst et al., 2011; Marsh, 1999; Thurber, Scanlin, Scheuler, & Henderson, 2007). Distinguishing features of summer camps that contribute to youth development have been identified, with one being the distinctive teaching and learning situations particular to the communal setting (Fine, 2005; Slater, 1984; Waskul, 1998). Moreover, two aspects of the subjective experience for young people in camp programs are likely related to a differential potential for learning. Campers and staff report a significant feeling of possibilities in the physically and psychologically separate "camp bubble" (DeGraaf & Glover, 2003;

Johnson, Goldman, Garey, Britner, & Weaver, 2011) in addition to an empowering sense of freedom, especially from authority, (Fine, 2005; Johnson et al., 2011).

Specifically, the idea of residential camps as *total institutions* (Goffman, 1961) may indicate distinct possibilities for the setting. Vrooman (2007) notes how—in contrast to the framework of control in Goffman’s illustrative mental hospitals—“camps are governed by a need to transmit culture (skills, values, behaviors) to the population” (p. 109). That is to say, camps’ socializing and educational aims are pervasive through the bringing together of many people in “tight schedules” over a camp session, day and night. Indeed, early camp scholar Hedley Dimock asserted that “The advantage, educationally, of the whole person living and acting vigorously in a relatively unified environment is tremendous” (1948, cited in Vrooman, 2007). This intensive, residential, and empowering nature of camp has been posited by other camp researchers to facilitate a social growth experience (Garst et al., 2011). As the only class of youth programs that could be called total institutions, summer camps permit distinct environments and experiences for their live-in participants.

Interpretive studies of camp cultures provide further insight into how camps, along with their participants, accomplish these instructive climates (Mechling 1999; 2001). At many camps (including Camp Clore), for instance, one finds a ritual progression of responsibilities and roles, from campers to staff and leaders, that occurs over several years. This advancement, ideally, matches up with the changing abilities of youth and publicly “dramatize[s] a change in status” (Mechling, 1999). The repeated promotion in status at camp reflects and contributes to “unity, solidarity, and joint commitment,” according to Goffman (1961, p. 94). Especially in conjunction with institutional ceremonies, the progressive change in status offers a symbolic correlate for developmental maturation. Indeed, counselors often report feeling a part of a tight-knit community, increasing in attachment to their camp over time, and experiencing camp as a site of multi-faceted skill development (Garst, Franz, Baughman, Smith, & Peters, 2009; Genson, 2010). Unifying elements of camp contribute to a communal experience, build a collaborative culture, and engender support for institutional goals. The highly structured environment of a total institution peopled with voluntarily-present participants and coupled with integrative rituals is a potent combination (Vrooman, 2007). With these features, camps establish compelling cultures that laud growing personally and learning to get along and work with others at the same time.

Fredricks and Simpkins (2013b), meanwhile, recently argued that organized out-of-school activities are ideal settings for the study of peer processes in particular. They note that, especially in comparison to schools, youth programs tend to have more positive peer relationships, explicit goals to foster social skills, and structures that allow for friendships to develop. Summer camps fit these characteristics and their design facilitates continuous peer interaction in a positive social environment over relatively long periods of time. Muzafer Sherif and colleagues’ groundbreaking social psychological

study, the Robbers' Cave Experiment (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961), for instance, exemplifies both the research and intervention potentials of the summer camp setting for peer group processes.

Evidence strongly suggests significant gains in participant's prosocial behaviors and values are associated with programs' intentional work to improve social skills (Durlak et al., 2010; Fredricks & Simpkins, 2013a; Larson, 2007; Larson et al., 2012). Cater and Jones (2014) posit that youth programs provide an optimal environment for learning teamwork due to youth's engagement in collaborative activities with the scaffolding of caring adults. Summer camps, in particular, have recorded gains in prosocial development for campers (Reefe, 2006), teenagers (Carter, 2006; McNeely, 2004), and counselors (DeGraaf & Glover, 2003). For these reasons, summer camps, as a subset of youth programs, are suitable, and even exceptional, sites for the study of peers and teamwork among adolescents.

Adolescents have received relatively less attention in camp research.² However, just as youth programs are posited as a particularly appropriate "stage-environment fit" for adolescents (Eccles, 2004; Larson, 2000; Lerner, Warren, & Phelps 2011), camps may provide unique opportunities for positive development among high-schoolers (Ferrari & McNeely, 2007). Developmental studies describe how camps contribute to campers' learning and character development (American Camp Association, 2013; Garst & Bruce, 2003; Marsh, 1999) and to counselors' skill building (Bialeschki, Henderson, & Dahowski, 1998), but fewer focus especially on teenagers who often have roles as counselors-in-training (CITs), in between staff and campers.³

In fact, while experiencing the same positive developmental context as program participants, teen CITs are conferred work responsibilities that have been postulated to present distinct developmental opportunities (Ferrari & McNeely, 2007; McNeely, 2004). Research suggests that camp counselors generally gain personal, social, and specific life skills, especially in terms of leadership and responsibility (DeGraaf & Glover, 2003; Ferrari & McNeely, 2007; Garst & Johnson, 2003); do valuable identity development work, exploring roles and responsibilities (Johnson et al., 2011; Waskul, 1998); undergo long-term and deep *transformative* learning (Garst et al., 2009; James, 2003); and eventually transfer what they have learned at camp to other areas of life, including future careers (DeGraaf & Glover, 2003; Digby & Ferrari, 2007). Similarly, the work that does attest to learning among teens (often graduate students' work about 4-H teen camps) describes gains in leadership skills (Garst & Johnson, 2003;

² One likely explanation for the lack of large-scale studies of adolescents at camps is the variability in their roles in programs. Some residential camps allow teenagers up to age 18 to be full program participants as campers while others have age 12 as the oldest camper age. Teenagers may be staff members starting at different ages, they may have a variety of liminal roles (as at Camp Clore), or there simply may be no place for high-schoolers at a camp with younger campers and older staff.

³ Indeed, in the program wherein this research was conducted, the teens were occasionally referred to as *stampers*, a portmanteau of *staff* and *camper*.

Rossing & McIntee, 1988), responsibility (Ferrari & Arnett, 2011; Risch, 2012), teamwork (Perry, 2013a; 2014) and general *life skills* that transferred to other areas of their lives (Digby & Ferrari, 2007). This relatively narrower documentation of benefits of camp for adolescents does not match up with the promise of teens' liminal position at camp, where they may take on progressive responsibilities and benefit from many role models among more senior staff. In sum, the field is ripe for camp studies of teens' learning, peer processes, and teamwork in particular.

Defining Teamwork

Posited as an important capability for young people to develop in the contemporary era, the ability for teamwork comprises competencies ranging from perspective taking to conflict resolution (Parker, Ninomiya, & Cogan, 1999; Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2011). Beyond this sense, the particular manner in which researchers use *teamwork* or another term to describe working together varies by field, purpose, or research question. Among peer processes in the research literature, various conceptualizations of working together are labeled teamwork, collaborative skills, prosocial behavior, or a capacity for cooperation. My definition of teamwork for the purpose of this dissertation draws on each of these in conversation with the youth who told me their narratives of collaboration. I cover the literature that informs my thinking about teamwork for this qualitative project below.

While teamwork is a widely valued skill, its definition in research is contested. The concept of teamwork, as an outcome, is central to areas such as sport psychology (Carron, Martin, & Loughhead, 2012) and the business world (Katzenbach & Smith, 1993), in addition to being an important concept for thinking about groups and social behavior. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of this, much of the existing literature (across many disciplines) leaves the definition of teamwork implicit or uses one conceptualization among many, with no unifying consensus (Rousseau, Aubé, & Savoie, 2006). Components of teamwork that can be found across frameworks and conceptualizations of teamwork include, implicitly or explicitly: cohesion, cooperation, communication, and coordination (Carron et al., 2012; Rousseau et al., 2006).

Studies in adolescence may concern themselves less with delineating the precise endpoint of teamwork, instead concentrating on particular components as they mature. Teamwork development, then is viewed in terms of how social cognition, prosocial values, cooperative behavior, or other related capacities *develop*. This developmental perspective often conveys teamwork as a constellation of competencies, values, and habits that develop, or not, in conjunction with experience and possibly cognitive maturation.

A subset of the developmental work on teamwork studies youth programs and indicates the importance of social context for studying and understanding teamwork in practice. Guest (2008) compares how youth in Pena (Angola) and Chicago understood and enacted teamwork. He argues that

attending to local understandings enables culturally sensitive and context-appropriate conceptualizations of teamwork in youth development. Similarly, Larson and colleagues work from qualitative data to develop grounded theory around learning teamwork in youth programs (Larson, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005). With descriptions of distinct models of teamwork, Mekinda and Hirsch (2014) present results that may suggest a number of possible developmental pathways based on youth's values, tasks, and relationships within a group project. These qualitative studies all point to the importance of context in conceptualizing and considering teamwork among youth.

Previously, I drew on my knowledge of the Clore Corps in light of the varying conceptualizations of teamwork from the research literature in order to create a range of interview prompts germane to possible situations in the program (Perry, 2013a). Using this as a starting point, I amassed youth's descriptions around these related ideas to conceptualize teamwork development *as experienced by youth*. Grounding my thinking in both the literature and my narrative data allowed me to attend to the social context in which youth were learning to collaborate. Familiarity with the field's variety of conceptualization helped me see teamwork in youth's stories when they included competencies, values, and habits. The importance of specifically heeding youth's conscious cognition is seen throughout the next section.

Cognitive Changes in Adolescence

The shift in cognition and consciousness experienced during adolescence is important both in its own right and in how it comes to bear on other areas of their lifeworlds. Youth strive to make sense of new experiences, even as their cognitive capacities to do so are themselves changing. These abilities adjust in response to the complex interaction of neurological changes, experiences encountered, and teens' agentic role in driving their own development (Kuhn, 2009). That is to say, structural changes in the brain, new developmental opportunities to practice cognitive skills, and active engagement in change all work together to constitute the cognitive development that characterizes adolescence. Changing minds meet changing bodies and changing roles. In this section I intend to show how the cognitive changes characteristic of adolescence are important to teens' learning at camp.

Structural changes in the brain support improvements in reasoning and information processing during adolescence. Teens gain a *suite* of new executive functions (Collins & Steinberg, 2006). Changes in the prefrontal cortex—comprising both the pruning of neuronal connections and myelination of existing ones—lead to more efficiency in selected connections (Kuhn, 2009). This area of the brain is also thought to be involved in metacognitive processes; that is, those of executive control of one's own cognition. The new abilities associated with the executive, moreover, allow for a developmental change in the nature of learning: adolescents have the potential to engage in *mindful learning*, taking advantage of a newfound (albeit developing) control over mental resources (Kuhn, 2009). This conscious, intentional

marshaling of the mind does not, of course, represent an across-the-board, all-the-time shift in adolescent thought. Just as with adults, the use of specific cognitive capacities hinges on particular experiences that facilitate or afford particular ways of thinking. A new ability, then, is contingent on context in that it requires a new *opportunity* to develop and be practiced; advances in neural architecture are not enough.

The study of cognition-in-context allows for connections to be made between adolescent learning and the circumstances that enable learning. Ecological approaches, currently common within adolescent psychology, emphasize the necessity of studying the mind-body in social context, rather than isolating neurological or biological change (Fischer & Bidell, 2006; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). Adolescent thinking, as it happens in day-to-day life, incorporates social and emotional processes, in addition to cognitive ones (Collins & Steinberg, 2006). For this reason, a thorough understanding of cognition and learning requires knowledge of the actions, interactions, and general context of the thinking.

Fischer and Bidell (2006) noted the “dynamic development of action and thought” and use the metaphor of a *constructive web* to reflect the potentiality of maturation and the dynamic interconnectedness of skill domains, activities, and contexts. The idea of adolescence as a sensitive, or critical, period reinforces the idea that particular sociocultural opportunities can shape the course of development (Kuhn, 2009; Steinberg, 2005). Youth programs, therefore, with the many opportunities for skill development, as enumerated above, are ideal sites to study learning in conjunction with its situational factors. Camps, specifically, provide youth the chance to take on roles and responsibilities that they may not encounter in school or even other youth programs. When programs also set youth up to have success in their endeavors, favorable outcomes in one domain encourages continued engagement therein (Mercer, 2010). During adolescence, then, the potential for development in a particular domain is not inevitable, but rather depends on exposure to certain apposite experiences in addition to the active direction of youth themselves (Kuhn, 2009), to which I next turn.

A prominent part of the conditions that shape changing minds includes the agentic efforts of individuals themselves. As alluded to in the description of executive skills; purposive, deliberate, or other mindful processes are pivotal to adolescents becoming autonomous agents. Moreover, the conception of youth as “producers of their own development” is central to an empowering approach to positive youth development (Larson, 2000; Lerner, 2002). By purposefully making choices about how to allocate cognitive resources in line with their intentions, for example, adolescents can direct their own learning. The possibility for the development of agency has been attributed, in part, to the developing skills of higher-order thinking, reasoning about complex systems, and control of one’s own thought processes (Kuhn, 2009; Larson & Angus, 2011).

As Larson (2011) notes, the ability to produce their own development is one potential that develops in conjunction with an appropriate opportunity to exercise it. Larson and Angus (2011) provide evidence from youth programs that begins to document the process by which youth come to be able to manage their own executive functioning. Their grounded theory shows how youth learned to think strategically through projects as they actively addressed problems and incorporated ongoing feedback about how their work was progressing. This account foregrounds the ability of youth to work toward goals and the role adult leaders have in supporting the development of strategic thinking. Therefore, it is important to note that, while emphasizing youths' part in changing themselves and their ecology, this perspective acknowledges the interplay among the context of youth programs, active management of their own learning, and how others play into the learning process. One goal of this dissertation is to understand adolescents' active, conscious cognition in youth programs. This review turns next to the role peers play in the ecology of processes comprising adolescent development.

Peer Processes

Learning teamwork inevitably involves the others that one learns from or with. During adolescence, the chance to cooperate with peers constitutes an important opportunity to experience teamwork on relatively equal footing. The role of peers, then, is integral to studying active learning in context. In line with neo-Piagetian constructivist perspectives, the *symmetricality* of peer interaction make collaboration therein an important context for the study of cognitive development (Golbeck & Sinagra, 2000; Tudge, 2000).

Three lines of research are relatively recent additions to the conversation around *peer influence*: empirical investigation into positive influence, explorations of the *black box* of peer processes (especially in a given context), and a shift away from purely mechanistic conceptions of peer contributions in development and toward an account that allows for the active agency of youth. The current study sits at the intersection of these.

Beyond negative influence. Early theorists posited a number of functional benefits of friendships and peer relations. Piaget saw the relative parity of *agemates* as allowing for mutuality and reciprocity in peer relationships, which children did not have with adults (Piaget, 1965). Sullivan (1953) and Youniss (1980) both asserted that friendships at earlier ages formed the bases for successful relationships in adulthood. A number of psychologists also noted the importance of peers for individual identity development (Kinney, 1993). Cooley's (1902) *looking glass self* and Mead's (1934) *generalized other* reflect the idea that perceptions of other influence the formation of self. Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) identity formation is also conceptualized as including social considerations, with peer groups playing an important role at the adolescent stage in seeking identity (and avoiding role confusion). Douvan and Adelson (1966) saw the need for peer "models, mirrors, helpers, testers, foils" in identity development (p.

179). Bandura, furthermore, surely reassured any adults worried about peer effects in 1964 with the assertion that adolescent agemates more often supported parents' values than undermined them.

Nevertheless, the intervening decades since this earlier sanguine work of early theorists have seen a great deal of research about adolescents having negative effects on their peers (Brown, Bakken, Ameringer, & Mahon, 2008). Especially since the 1980s, researchers (along with American society) have accused peers of *pressuring* other adolescents into aggression, antisociality, drug abuse, gang membership, risky sexual behavior, and other unbecoming conduct (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011; Gifford-Smith, Dodge, Dishion, & McCord, 2005). Eventually, a rising interest in positive psychology, and positive youth development more specifically, regained prominence in the deficit-dominated field of peer influence. Recent reviews have called for a return to the development of healthy and prosocial behaviors among adolescent peers and friends (Allen & Antonishak, 2008; Dishion & Tipsord, 2011). Indeed, Bradford Brown (2004) notes that most peer processes are toward the positive.

The study of positive influence from peers is especially important in light of the adolescents' increasing amount of time spent with age-mates and heightened susceptibility to their sway⁴ (Dishion, Nelson, Winter, & Bullock, 2004; Steinberg & Monahan 2007). As Allen and Antonishak (2008) point out, understanding its positive side is practical and desirable, especially when considering peer contributions to development as normal and inevitable. Some studies have led to reassessment of assumptions about *peer pressure*. For example, an unanticipated drop in aggression among youth with non-aggressive friends – when only negative influence was expected to spread – calls attention to how positive behaviors might propagate through peer groups (Adams, Bukowski, & Bagwell, 2005). Some researchers have made general assumptions about the role of peers in development, even when they rely only on evidence of antisocial behaviors among peers. For instance, Berndt's fundamental research (1979) showing a peak in susceptibility to influence did not reflect prosocial or neutral situations, but only negative risk behavior (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). A more comprehensive view of peers in development acknowledges the possibility of both positive and negative aspects, as in all relationships.

Considering the preponderance of recent empirical work documenting the negative, it is important to study the distinct nature of positive influence in its own right. Rather than extrapolating from ample work on negative peer influence, a body of research is needed to examine positive influence and allow for a broader perspective on the role of peers in development. Positive processes likely involve dynamics that are distinct from those that involve risk or that undermine well-being.

⁴ The studies documenting this "susceptibility" often rely implicitly upon an assumed passivity or even impotence in the face of influence or "pressure." Nevertheless, other interpretations allow for agency; e.g. the ability to purposefully avoid, reject, or resist unwanted influence. In this literature review, I retain some of the disempowering language when reporting the originating research, but I hope my own findings problematize this un-agentic reading of youth vis-à-vis their peers.

Knowledge of how youth contribute to each other's healthy and prosocial functioning, of course, is of interest to youth-serving organizations, to makers of youth policy, and broadly to those invested in promoting positive youth development. Like most basic research, studying the nature of positive peer influence lays a foundation for broader research and for applied work. Mapping positive influence enriches our understanding of the ecology of healthy pathways through adolescence. When those who live and work with youth know how friends and peers can factor into learning, they can work to support them.

Active peer processes. Beyond the work documenting the existence of peer influence, other research further maps mechanisms with statistical methods. The consideration of moderators and mediators of *peer contagion*, for example, provides a set of factors that seed initial exploration of positive influence.

Work on peer contagion—a mutual influence process spreading harm (to others or to one's development)—represents the most thorough work documenting the *process* by which peer influence occurs (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011). The authors present a model that shows peer influence as increasingly negative, when considering contagion effects, in the lives of youth. Research that seeks to understand how peer influence comes to pass—that is to say, on the processes themselves—may begin to resolve the qualitative differences between positive and negative influence. While the subfield that inventories the positive *outcomes* of peer influence suffers relative neglect, so too suffers research on the *process* of positive peer influence. Nevertheless, the literature on peer contagion presents a framework for contrast with regard to positive mechanisms of influence. A prior analysis, for instance, highlights processes that are much less similar to mechanistic behaviorism and allow for the autonomous engagement of the youth in their own learning (Perry, 2013a).

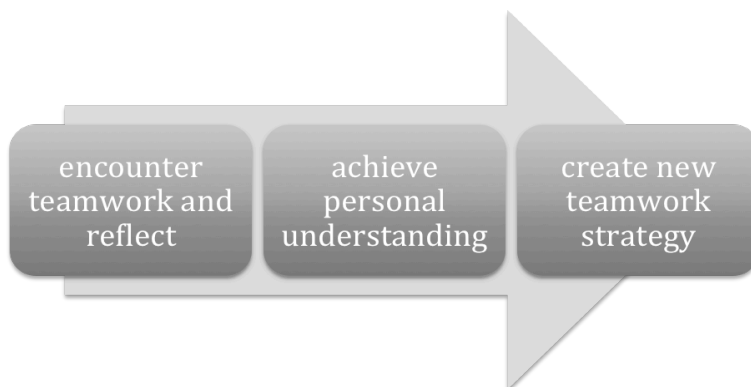
This contrast between the negative influence literature (especially regarding peer contagion) and my work can be seen when considering the active and agentic features of adolescent cognition. Little research takes into account both the idea that peers can play a role in adolescents' learning and that youth can manage their own learning. As explained above, metacognitive abilities allow adolescents to manage their own cognitive resources and, ultimately, direct their own learning. Recognizing this capability grants youth a greater degree of dignity in attesting to their competence in and potential for purposeful action (Best, 2007), in addition to theorizing vast potential for youth's role in peer interactions, which studies of negative influence have neglected.

While Dishion and Tipsord (2011), for example, list self-regulation and mindfulness as moderators of peer contagion, they fall short of an adequate consideration of the capacity for youth to control what they call influence, or the learning that takes place. Their description of peer contagion processes as “often automatic” does not leave room for adolescents to actively resist, acquiesce to, or alter influence from peers. In contrast, salient in my earlier work was the finding that youth program

participants *actively* reinterpreted influence (Perry, 2013a; 2013b). The teenagers at a summer camp rarely described internalizing influence from peers “as is,” but rather made their own sense of it and took in (or didn’t) in accordance with their own understandings and goals. My qualitative, emergent study of youth’s narrative accounts, starting with Perry (2013a) lets their agency emerge and contrasts with the quantitative approach to study peer contagion and other “influence” literature.

My prior research identified youth’s active role in the management of their own learning (Perry, 2013a; Perry, 2013b; Perry, 2014; Perry, 2015). When youth reported constructive peer involvement, they were often discriminating about how they made use of influence and input from peers. One analysis suggested a learning sequence for youth’s pathways of active development (Perry, 2013b). The resultant model had youth encountering some interpersonal situation that caused them to reflect, them coming to their own understanding of what that meant for how they worked with others, and ultimately deciding something about how they would do teamwork in the future. Figure 1 shows this preliminary model of how youth arrive at new strategies for doing teamwork, an emergent model of youth developing action-oriented principles for teamwork.

Figure 1. *Perry’s (2013b) emergent model*



Just as Laura met contentiousness with reasoned counter-resolve, other youth also responded to various sorts of peer input or influence with intentional and active consideration followed by a measured response that can include both rejection and acceptance (Perry, 2013a). This dynamic and agentic interplay showed one way that youth made use of and develop new cognitive capacities in supportive environments. Their experience in the Corps program helped them develop skills to meet the challenges of the complicated peer dynamics of adolescence.

Teamwork Development and Learning

Having explored the role of cognition, personal agency, and peers in adolescent learning, I turn now to the development of teamwork in particular. I briefly cover the developmental work on teamwork,

and the related collaborative skills that were outlined the section defining teamwork, as it pertains to this dissertation.

Selman's developmental work (1980; 2003) introduces a stage model for the acquisition of social perspective-taking skills, hypothesized to underpin success with teamwork. A clear progression with categorical changes in ability gives a clear way of analyzing and assessing perspective taking. Selman's program of research, moreover, is also significant for going beyond the stages to document how children make use of their capacities. Piaget's model of social cognitive development, in contrast, has taken criticism for failing to note the disconnect between an ability to think in a certain way and actually putting such a cognitive capacity into practice. By studying perspective taking in context and in action, Selman (2003) strengthens his account with ecological detail. An unpublished master's thesis (Angus, 2008) expands Selman's model for adolescents in the context of youth programs. Both Angus and Selman represent precedents for qualitative research investigating how teamwork skills develop in the real world.

Other work on teamwork in youth programs, mentioned briefly before, is also relevant for this project. Larson, Hansen, and Walker (2005) make use of narrative data to document the insights into working as a team that youth have in an after-school program. This article links the insights that youth have to the instrumental and interpersonal challenges that precipitate them. This contribution begins to bridge the conceptual territory between what is learned (product) about teamwork and how it is learned (process), a distinction important to my dissertation project. Moreover, Larson et al. (2005) provide information about how adult leaders support learning, which sheds light on the intent and expertise of the adults structuring developmental opportunities. They have less about how youth experience other people's involvement in their learning. The research begins to map learning teamwork with an ecological eye on others' contributions to the processes.

Larson (2007) explicitly makes the distinction between *what-* and *how-learned* in a paper about a different program from the same study.⁵ He finds youth learned reciprocity in three ways: from experience, from taking others' perspectives, and from developing collective norms. Larson's analysis comments on how participants' learning often paralleled group and individual commitments to norms around teamwork. His tentative model for a "pathway of teamwork development" has youth passing through egocentrism, to reciprocity with peers, and finally group-level principles guiding the collective's collaboration. This wording begs the question whether other pathways exist and how factors other than the leaders come into play in the learning process.

⁵ The Youth Development Experience (TYDE) is the parent study to the teamwork research in youth programs that is cited here, including Angus (2008); Larson, Hansen, & Walker (2005); and Larson (2007), but TYDE does not include my later work on camps.

Some work discusses peer processes in adolescent development. Larson et al. (2012), while studying value development and not teamwork, use frameworks that are compatible with the current project. Their discussion of constructive peer processes parallel aspects of the learning processes with positive peer influence that I have discussed previously (Perry, 2013a; 2013b). I draw on Barbara Rogoff's sociocultural discussion of "cognition as collaborative process" and her consideration of how cognitive development "is promoted by individuals' collaboration with others" (Rogoff, 1998, p. 679). This perspective is helpful in considering social and participatory processes by which youth experience development.

Nancy Deutsch (2005), similarly, makes reference to constructive peer processes when she notes their absence in the literature, "supportive social relationships in after-school settings can help youth construct prosocial selves, but the *mechanisms* behind this are not clear" (p. 91, emphasis added). Since my *teamwork strategies* are part and parcel of what Deutsch calls *prosocial selves*, I see in her statement a call for research on prosocial (including teamwork) development. This idea that peers can mutually inspire positive development is fundamental to accounts of learning and developing within groups. More adequate models of *how* peers contribute are needed.

The work by Larson and colleagues (2012) also shares a similarity with my work in terms of viewing teamwork as *product*. In addition to the conceptualization of ways collaboration and learning occur in youth programs, teamwork skills are seen as a valuable developmental outcome in the setting. The Larson et al. (2012) idea of youth coming to develop prosocial values can be seen as related to Perry's (2013a) "determinations [to do teamwork differently] for the future." The last step of learning recorded by Perry (2013a)—for two of the three learning processes reported—was to go beyond the local situation and to commit to new ways of working together, to new principles for collaboration. The integration of teamwork insights from others into one's own understanding (Perry, 2013a) bears some resemblance to internalizing a prosocial value (Larson et al., 2012). In the former, the youth often changed their conceptualization of working together and even followed up with some commitment, be it novel or renewed, to teamwork and, in the latter, positive group norms were assimilated into participants' own beliefs and practices around cooperation and equality. Choosing to receive input from the group is clear in both cases. Similarly, where Larson (2007) highlighted that the youth reported making decisions to cooperate, Perry (2013b) found that, in addition to learning about teamwork, youth often "created new teamwork strategies" and set "preferred courses of action" for collaboration in their future. Again, youth selectively take on prosocial group values and behaviors. These investigations, of what is learned about teamwork and how this happens, unearth data where youth go beyond changing their knowledge and into changing their practice of working together (or at least intending to do so!) The development of new understandings and of new skills bleeds into intentions and commitments to use them.

One conclusion that could be drawn from comparison of these programs of research from Larson, Perry, and colleagues is that the process of learning teamwork skills and of developing prosocial values are not entirely separate or distinct. While the products, skills and values, of these processes differ in scope, I would deem both important parts of learning teamwork. Perry's findings (2013a; 2013b) give some indication that, in young people's own accounts, they may be steps in the same process. Youth were able to connect the figuring out of a particular skill to an internalized value or principle about teamwork (and vice versa). This connection, linking specific events in which teamwork is navigated in a particular situation, to the commitments to and internalizations of prosocial values is important to understanding learning. Shedding light on the inner workings of teamwork development would be of value, moreover, to any who would wish to support the cultivation of prosocial values.

Teamwork Microdevelopment in the Clore Corps

My prior work brought these strands of research together and leads into the current study (Perry, 2013a). The confluence of the setting of teen programs at camp, new cognitive potentials in adolescence, and team-oriented tasks completed within a group of peers all come to bear on how teens learn teamwork in youth programs. In this section, I introduce the terms, concepts, and frameworks that I developed previously in my research at the Clore Corps and that I carry through to this project. Whereas I completed a coarse classification of possible categories to capture mechanisms of positive influence in Perry (2013a), this dissertation builds on the earlier work to elaborate answers to the question of how teens learn teamwork, as I discuss in the next section. Such an account of teenagers and their peers offers the promise of knowledge that would help researchers practitioners understand the ways youth construct learning among their agemates. In the paragraphs that follow, I briefly present a few more ideas that came out of Perry (2013a) to reinforce the points made about learning, cognition, and teamwork as they matter to this dissertation.

To begin with, the distinction between microdevelopment and macrodevelopment shaped my theorizing of learning teamwork early in my study. Fischer and Bidell call microdevelopment "the set of short-term processes by which people construct new skills for participation in specific contexts" (2006, p. 363). These processes, then, are similar to Vygotsky's proximal processes (1978) and contrast with macrodevelopmental learning at a broader, slower scale. This conceptualization fit my ecological perspective and my methodological approach. I saw how qualitative, narrative accounts⁶ from youth could provide rich data on the ways youth develop collaborative skills in practice. Siegler (2006) also emphasizes how this micro-level analysis enables the processual study of *how* things happen, in this case, learning teamwork. I adopted the conceptual tool and description of microdevelopment early on and use it throughout this dissertation.

⁶ The specific methodology of this dissertation is discussed in more depth in the third chapter.

Other important terminology established in this earlier paper includes the ideas of the *learner* and the *learning episode*. For the participants, I adopt the term learner throughout this project to distinguish the teenager who spoke to me in the interview from the other youth s/he discussed. The learners are the ones who learned teamwork in the episodes and whose perspective guides my analysis (rather than, say, an analysis of my interviewee's perspective on how their peers learned, which most also provided data on). Each story detailing the teamwork microdevelopmental process was called a learning episode (see Appendix A for an example of a full episode). The learning episode captures the entire event of a teenager learning something about teamwork. An episode spans socially and cognitively relevant processes, from what happens with peers to the concomitant thinking-to-understand. The ideas of learners and episodes are used throughout this paper.

To return to my prior work, that analysis constructed grounded theory about how teens were learning teamwork in a residential summer camp setting (Perry, 2013a). From the pool of stories the youth had told me about teamwork, I focused on those that gave more details on the process of figuring out something about teamwork, be it a strategy, a truism, or rule-of-thumb. The participants' narrations of learning teamwork were markedly complex, with youth typically being able to relate a local insight about how to work better with another person to a much more abstract dictum about teamwork in general, or vice versa.

This allowed me to outline their stories about developing knowledge and practice around teamwork and thus detail conscious microdevelopmental process. Intrigued by the various ways that peers—and their advice, modeling, conflict, etc.—played into these stories, I attended to what the learners said about peers in relation to the learning episode. I note commonalities in the learning process based on whether participants spoke of their peers as mediators, advisors, collaborators, role models, motivators, or other type of *influencer*. Eventually, I categorized learning episodes according to how youth characterized the nature of their peers' influence. The analytic categories that comprised the findings of that study had groups of episodes where youth *assimilated peers' actions*, *co-constructed learning*, and *adapted peers' advice* (Perry, 2013a).

The youth I spoke to gave accounts of constructive peer processes where they consistently met so-called influence with thoughtful deliberation (Perry, 2013a). Integrating advice into their own understanding and adapting what they learned from peer role models, youth did not just mimic or obey peers automatically. They reported critically assessing the teamwork with which they were involved. The agency that was shown in my study, then, reflected this critical and evaluative way of approaching teamwork development. Larson and Angus (2011), in contrast, described an intentional agency that youth used “to help them achieve goals” in their discussion of learning strategic thinking (p. 277). With less explicit goal-orientation having come out of my interviews with youth, I would describe their agency as

active management of their learning process. This way of viewing agentic learning holds potential in the field of positive youth development for conceptualizing the capacity of youth to direct their own development. Moreover, by scrutinizing agency as it coincides with constructive peer processes, I can investigate how adolescents make use of each other as resources in youth programs.

In sum, Perry (2013a) made inroads into the question of how youth act agentially in conjunction with peer processes. Youth creatively acted upon advice, models, principles, insights, and general input from peers to align with their own understandings of, values regarding, and intentions for teamwork. My prior work grouped cases of teens learning teamwork by the different sorts of peer input or influence and examined how youth progressed from there. A next feasible step is analysis that better maps out teamwork microdevelopment. Thus, for example, while Perry (2013a) sorts Laura's case into a category of "assimilating peers' actions," a further goal is to distinguish how she got from particular team experiences to her principles to "communicate to cooperate" and to "try to go with their way." Similarly, particular configurations of agentic and peer processes remain to be explicated and compared across cases, in terms of how they affect learning. There are many remaining questions related to the issue of how teens learn teamwork in youth programs.

Current Study

As described above, research has begun to explore the workings of adolescents' active, agentic learning and constructive peer processes together. This project theorizes the nature of microdevelopmental teamwork processes, while taking into account how youth experience both agency and peer input in the development of teamwork skills. Asking youth to connect what they have learned about teamwork with particular experiences in the Clore Corps allows for youth to elaborate on the learning process. By analyzing their firsthand accounts, I gain access to the conscious processes that underlie their agency. In this dissertation, I draw on prior and new data to expand the analysis started in Perry (2013a) and develop grounded theory that describes teens' learning, especially through agentic and peer processes. As noted by Eccles (2005) and echoed by Larson and Angus (2011), there remains little work documenting the developmental processes that mediate the well-established outcomes in youth programs. I add to this body of research with this study on the basis of the following framework and research questions.

Theoretical framework. To begin with, two broad theoretical frameworks are fundamental to how I think about teens learning teamwork. First, this research aligns itself with work promoting positive views of adolescence, while resisting negative stereotypes and deficit perspectives of youth. Accordingly, adolescents are recognized for their capabilities (Damon, 2004) and youth programs are known to support positive development through life preparation, rather than problem prevention (Lerner et al., 2009; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b). The current study also accords with contemporary trends of conceptualizing

adolescent development as an “active, collective process” wherein teenagers interact with peers and adults to create their own social worlds (Eder & Nenga, 2003, p. 157). Based on these ideas, I study the role of peers in youth’s process of developing skills for life in the 21st century (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2011). I hypothesize youth in the Clore Corps as exercising agency, at the microdevelopmental level, through their collaborative work with peers in teen programs.

Second, this project owes a methodological and ontological debt to the work of Reed Larson and colleagues (Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003; Rusk et al., 2013; Wood, Larson, & Brown, 2009). Their grounded theory of conscious developmental processes, based on an ecological understanding of youth programs underlie my own approach to exploring how teamwork is learned. Furthermore, my initial interview guides (see Appendix B) were modeled on the questions and procedures from youth interviews in Larson et al.’s current project (Rusk et al., 2013). Similarly, their insights into the development of teamwork and interpersonal skills (Larson, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005) served as sensitizing concepts for my analysis (Charmaz, 2014). At a more fundamental level, this study also reflects a developmentalist framework wherein youth actively manage their own development and, significantly, can give account of this (Larson, 2000).

Research questions. Guiding my exploration of the conscious processes by which teens learn teamwork are the following research questions. *RQ 1) How do youth accomplish the social process learning teamwork with their peers at camp?* Question 1 seeks to allow descriptive details about the constructive peer processes to emerge from a grounded analysis of the data. Through this question, I explore the nature of learning processes as experienced by youth. I examine what it looks like when youth take microdevelopmental steps in their teamwork skills, including peers’ part in this learning.

I use the idea of *episodal stances*, or youth’s broad orientation toward peers in a particular learning episode, to consider meaningful differences among teamwork development experiences. This concept of stances refers to distinctions youth made to orientations toward peers as role models, as co-learners, or as human beings to be respected (Perry, 2013a). Sub-questions utilizing this concept help clarify the aspects of question 1) that my analysis takes on. The first sub-question, RQ 1a) asks, *What form do youth’s episodal stances take?* and seeks to explicitly identify and describe the stances or orientations that youth take toward their peers. The second, RQ 1b) asks, *Considering particular stances, what similarities and differences distinguish learning episodes?* With this line of inquiry, I follow up on the implication of my earlier analysis (Perry, 2013a): grouping episodes by stance can facilitate theoretically meaningful comparisons.

Questions 1a) and 1b) help indicate the foci of the analysis, with regard to learning processes. To reiterate, the first indicates an analytic goal of categorizing youth’s stance in relation to peers across the

episode. The second seeks to leverage constant comparative analysis, on the basis of distinctions among stances, to explore the rich diversity among reported episodes of learning.

The next research question, RQ 2), derives from the first, it asks, *If youth are drawing from their peers, how do they exercise agency in their learning?* Alternatively worded to retain the priorities from RQ1, this question asks, *How does teens' active management of their own learning work with constructive peer processes to shape development?*

Question 2), in both wordings, reflects my theorization that constructive peer and agentic processes are part of the broader set of learning processes co-constituting teamwork development. Drawing on trends in the study of adolescent cognition and of youth programs, Question 2 emphasizes the active agency of youth, even as they learn along with their peers. With this question, I examine the ways agentic processes interact with constructive peer processes to constitute learning within youth programs. To return to the case of Laura in the introduction, an investigation of Question 2 would look at the details in how she attentively engaged with what she saw her peers do and eventually arrived at her own ideas that one should “stop arguing... [and] listen sometimes.”

These two research questions are closely related and form the foundation for this project. This dissertation reflects the culmination of a preliminary foray into the question of what teamwork microdevelopment looks like in youth programs. The next chapter catalogs my methodological approach and procedures.

Chapter Three: Methods

This qualitative study makes use of semi-structured interview data from youth in a program of high-school sophomores at a residential summer camp. The two waves of interviews come from Summer 2011 (Stage 1) and Summer 2014 (Stage 2). Since I am interested in conscious developmental processes, I access what I call learning episodes through participants' narrative accounts of teamwork in the program. I have used modified grounded theory methods to determine my sample, to analyze interview transcripts, to compose memos for a research journal, and to write up my findings. Implementing this qualitative design in a naturalistic setting enables me to give the strongest account from the perspective of youth themselves (National Institutes of Mental Health Consortium of Editors on Development and Psychopathology, 1999; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

In this chapter, I give an overview of my methods, move on to describing the camp setting in which the research took place, followed by the sampling and participants, then the interviews and interview guide, and finally an explication of the data analysis process.

Grounded Theory Methods

I use modified grounded theory methods to develop my account of learning, including constructive peer processes. Grounded theory methods are helpful for capturing the basic social processes associated with teamwork development and for working with rich qualitative data from youth (Charmaz, 2014). Constant comparative methods help me take the stories told by youth and build up to theorizing about learning processes (Charmaz, 2014). In conjunction with the idea of conscious processes of development being characteristically agentic (Larson & Angus, 2011), I focus on youth's own accounts of learning. The section on data analysis, below, goes into more depth about how these techniques were applied specifically to this project.

The use of abductive logic—especially for research question 2—marks a novel turn for my analysis of Clore Corps data. In grounded theory abduction, entails working simultaneously from inductive consideration of one's data and from deductive consideration of existing theory to form one's own grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Reichertz, 2010). In my dissertation, I go beyond my initial master's findings (Perry, 2013a) by analyzing segments of my data with reference to existing work on peers and adolescence, youth programs, and learning. In particular, I employ findings and ideas from these fields as sensitizing concepts that allow me to read my data a certain way or that provide a conceptual lens to view the learning episodes (Charmaz, 2014). My data analysis section gives a sense of what steps of the research process feature this logic.

Research Setting: YMCA Camp Clore

Camp Clore⁷ is an overnight summer camp owned and operated by the regional YMCA. In this section, I intend to describe this camp setting in some detail to provide the sense of context necessary for understanding the rich data from youth in the study. Located less than an hour's drive from a mid-sized Midwestern city, Camp Clore hosts campers ranging in age from 6 to 14. The mission of the YMCA is to “put Christian principles into practice through programs that build healthy spirit, mind, and body for all.” The camp, similarly, lists the four character qualities that it values: “honesty, caring, responsibility, and respect.” Staff are trained to meet campers’ basic emotional needs, “use positive techniques of guidance,” and serve as role models “by maintaining an attitude of respect, loyalty, patience, courtesy, tact, and maturity” (YMCA Camp Clore, 2012). The staff culture, as carried summer-to-summer by camp leadership and high rates of returning counselors, also emphasizes continual learning and growth mindsets for everyone at camp, not just children. Staff development – in the form of training and evaluations (both initial and ongoing) – emphasizes goal-setting, building counselor skills, and personal improvement. In sum, Camp Clore resembles other programs for positive youth development in having goals for competency building and connection and in having a unique configuration of values and prominent objectives that include positivity and caring (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a; 2003b).

The last couple years have seen the rise of *coaching* as a buzzword at Camp Clore. This model for leadership arose within the camp’s teen programs, but extended to both camper-counselor and counselor-counselor relationships. Evaluations became coaching evaluations, which focused less on quantification of job quality and served as conversation-starters, catalyzing guided reflection with supervisors. Helping out other staff, especially those younger or less experienced, has been prioritized by camp leaders and has led to new practices and documentation around supporting teenagers and junior staff.

About the Clore Corps program. At Camp Clore, high-school juniors and older serve as paid staff, typically spending a couple years in training before becoming full-fledged counselors and senior staff.⁸ Before official paid employment, 15 year-old sophomores participate in a transitional volunteer program, between their time as campers and as staff. This program, known as the Clore Corps, is the focus of this study. It is designed for teens to collaborate in service activities and be introduced to the camp staff community and values. With less supervision than younger campers and fewer responsibilities (and freedoms) than older staff, the Clore Corps members are considered neither, but are liminal *stampers*

⁷ The names of the camp, the program, and the participants have all been changed to protect their privacy.

⁸ Even though summer camp staffs typically have a high turnover rate—due in part to the seasonal nature of employment—Camp Clore workers tend to follow the sequence I describe. Camp Clore’s retention rate (measuring the proportion of staff who have been at Camp Clore before in some capacity) hovers in the high 80s, much higher than the national average around 55%. Most Clore counselors are returning staff.

in common parlance. Their transitional status removes them from the work-free world of campers but also keeps them from camp's primary labor of caring directly for younger children. The Corps lives in their own area at camp, apart from other units, and have little programming in common with the rest of the camp. Their families are asked to make a donation to cover the participants' room and board, but, despite this payment, they are informed that the Corps members are at camp for the purpose of doing work.

The nature of tasks and scheduling in the Clore Corps bears describing in order to elucidate how adolescents' interactions are structured in the program. During three work periods each day (breakfast, lunch, and dinner — each lasting about two and a half hours), youth are assigned either to do camp cleanup, complete a small construction project, or work in the camp dining halls. The Clore Corps spends their off-time relaxing in their yurts⁹ or doing camp activities; remaining apart from other units at camp except for occasional involvement in all-camp evening programming. My Clore Corps interviewees had this to say about the program atmosphere: “people usually get along,” “at camp everyone's more positive, so it's a lot easier to work with other people,” and “everybody at camp is always happy for the most part.”

Within each of the work periods, each Corps member receives a specific “job” that is their responsibility for the duration of the mealtime. While there can be up to almost 60 assigned jobs (depending on the size of the Corps), youth are partnered with between one and ten other Corps members to complete a set of tasks. In order to fill 50-odd spots at 16 mealtime work periods, the Corps Unit Leader (see Appendix C for basic information about the Clore Corps leaders) randomizes who works where and when. While making for easy scheduling, this randomization also has the effect of mixing up the Corps members to work with anyone (and, eventually, close to everyone), whether they are friends or not. The fact that the youth have a task to complete remains the same, but a rotating cast of not-hand-picked collaborators introduces an interesting social facet to the Corps experience. Unlike situations where youth might choose to interact with friends, or even in schools where arbitrarily-assigned groups may last for an ongoing project, the Clore Corps has youth finishing a task with one group and moving on. During their time at camp, youth are constantly renegotiating group dynamics to collaborate successfully.

In my experience, this random mixing contributes to the manifestation of a variety of collaborative situations (including conflict, cooperation, mutual support or avoidance, etc.) and makes the Clore Corps an interesting context in which to study teamwork. Notably, the Corps schedule cuts across cliques, peer groups, and status hierarchies in its grouping. This may give an interesting parallel to adult workforces, which may not separate in line with workers' choosing either. Moreover, with the schedule not allowing dominance or social structuring through task assignment or work-group choice, a certain

⁹ A type of semi-permanent circular tent originating in Central Asia, but currently popular in many camps around the US.

amount of equalization may occur.¹⁰ The iterations of randomly assigned groups permit a great deal of negotiating and “working out” of teamwork for me to investigate. Youth encounter different group configurations and new co-workers 3 times per day, in addition to new tasks. As such, certain aspects of their collaborative context must be figured out again and again to accommodate each change in circumstance. Corps members cannot always rely on previously successful strategies for getting along, avoiding conflict, co-completing assignments, or coordinating efforts. The youth refine their teamwork skills repeatedly over the course of the program, accumulate a collaborative repertoire, and learn to deploy them strategically and effectively. These processes comprise the microdevelopment of teamwork that I define in the prior chapter.

The Clore Corps as a site for study. Although my initial familiarity with the Corps program came through personal experience, this program is also appropriate as the site of my study due to its peer-oriented nature. As opposed to the other jobs at camp, the Corps members have minimal interaction with campers or even staff outside of their program. As a result, their social environment consists predominantly of peers and friends in the Corps program. During off-time or working, Corps members mostly spend time with fellow Corps members, a distinction in the communal camp setting. With Camp Clore’s emphasis on personal growth, I interpret the limiting of the social experiences of the Clore Corps as directing youth’s focus to intra-group function and relations.

Finally, Camp Clore’s age-graded programming for teenagers is of interest to developmentalists. For youth going into 8th grade until they enter college, there is a new program at camp with distinct opportunities each year. This sequence of programs is structured to offer progressively greater responsibilities. This reflects the camp leadership’s developmental theorizing about age-appropriate capabilities and potentials.

Teen programs at Camp Clore. A brief comparison among Camp Clore’s teen programs, then, conveys how Clore Corps members and their abilities are framed and positioned in this particular camp context. Camp Clore’s CITs (counselors-in-training), one year younger than the Corps members, are considered campers that have special leadership programming. They are always with their counselors and always have a scheduled place to be for activities. The C-Unit, who are one year older than the Corps, are assigned cabins and function as junior counselors when not leading activities. They are permitted to traverse unrestricted areas of camp freely. Clore Corps members, in contrast, are permitted to be without

¹⁰ It should be clear that youth can still claim and negotiate status within a particular work grouping in addition to strategically distributing sub-tasks to (re)produce hierarchy. I believe that—because the randomization makes groupings both uncontrollable and unstable—status hierarchies do not crystallize in the same way as in settings where youth have more control over their own associations. The initial lack of mutual familiarity within the Corps may contribute similarly to relative equality.

direct adult¹¹ supervision only occasionally and only when they have particular task assignments in a certain area. This contrasts with campers who are always supervised and older staff who rarely are at all. All other staff have responsibilities that involve supervising campers, the Corps does not. Moreover, Camp Clore expects neither efficiency nor excellence from the Corps regarding the tasks they complete. This coupled with the relatively simple nature of work allows the members of the Corps to focus inward, on learning teamwork with their peers.

The age-based progression of roles also produces a many-leveled hierarchy of positions and duties that provides support for those in the Clore Corps. This organizational feature allows for the sort of multilevel role-modeling that Deutsch (2007; 2008) has documented in urban after-school settings. Deutsch's (2007) point is that these levels are beneficial for those in the midrange, both receiving and giving mentorship, and Corps members do benefit in this way with regard to their service to younger campers. I contend, though, that it is also beneficial for Corps members to see their leaders as models of teamwork and to get guidance from someone who is, at the same time, being instructed in the same prosocial skill set (by camp leadership). Deutsch's trilevel mentoring can even be seen in Camp Clore *at the scale of groups*. As groups of 15 year-olds endeavor to complete their work tasks, a team of college-aged Corps Leaders visibly collaborates to organize activities, oversee Corps duties, and mentor Corps members. The Corps sees how their leaders deal with having to do undesirable tasks, working through tiredness, and negotiating how to split up tasks among teammates. Meanwhile, the Corps members also receive occasional direct support from the camp leadership team that supports the Corps Leaders. Camp leaders thus model dispositions for coordinating efforts and for improving the skills to work together. Moreover, being "embedded in a chain of relationships, a community of support" (Deutsch, 2007, p.88) is also key for shared teamwork values and for the communal attitudes that support attending to others. These are significant aspects of the context in which Corps participants learn teamwork. A prosocial program culture, facilitated by caring adult role models, provides the opportunity for 15 year-olds to rapidly develop teamwork skills, attitudes, and values in the fast-paced environment of constantly changing teams of the Clore Corps

Sampling

Participants. In accordance with my research focus, I sample from all of the youth in the Clore Corps program each summer. In 2011, the original 26 interviewees were selected from 125 participants, while 24 were recruited from 2014's 170. The final sample, then consisted of fifty youth, with equal

¹¹ In many circumstances involving youth, "supervision" implies a responsible adult of legal majority. At camp, however, a staff position, which can come at age 16, indicates a basic level of authority and supervisory capacity. The Corps leaders must be at least 19 years of age and must have graduated from high school.

numbers of male and female participants.¹² Three of the youth were African-American, one a White European national, three were Asian-American, and the remaining 43 were White European-American. None were Latina/o. The camp does not collect racial data on participants, but I suspect that my sample slightly oversamples racial and ethnic minorities relative to the camp population, which is predominantly White (and historically even whiter). Socioeconomic data was not collected, but the camp primarily serves middle- to upper-middle class youth. There is a suggested fee of a few hundred dollars for a Clore Corps session, which most families pay while the rest file extra paperwork and pay a reduced fee.

The youth in my sample were almost all high-school sophomores¹³ and all around 15 years old ($M = 15.3$, $SD = .33$, $range = 14.6-16.2$). The majority of Corps members have attended camp previously as campers, with only three of my sample attending camp for the first time that year (see Appendix D for data about the Clore Corps participants that I interviewed).

The interviews were collected from 2 separate sampling periods: the first stage of data collection having occurred in Summer 2011, the second in Summer 2014. The samples and sampling frames were similar for the years and samples were combined.¹⁴

Sampling technique. Random sampling—stratified by gender and camp seniority—allowed me to record a diversity of teamwork experiences. I decided to acquire equal representation from young men and women¹⁵ due to well-documented differences in group processes by gender (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Pepler, Craig, & Roberts, 1995). The stratification allows for balancing the voices of the young men and women in the program, even though the camp often serves many more female teenagers than males.¹⁶ While examining gender differences in learning processes is not a major focus of this work, I wish to ensure that males, who may have different experiences with learning teamwork, are adequately represented in the sample.

¹² One of the youth was registered for camp (by his mother) as a girl and thus lived in one of the so-called girls' yurts. He initially was referred to by female pronouns, as he had in prior years at camp, but midway through his Corps session asked the leaders to refer to him by male pronouns. He seemed to have a fluid conception of his own gender identity, but used the term *trans* (possibly among others) to self-designate, although I did not ask any youth to describe their gender identity.

¹³ Youth in other grades are put in the Corps program if they have been held back or skipped a grade and would otherwise be a high-school sophomore. One person in my sample was a freshman.

¹⁴ In 2012, the Corps Program shortened its 3-week sessions so it could have four 2-week sessions. Since I am focusing on microdevelopment, as seen within learning episodes, I deemed it acceptable to merge the results from youth experiencing different program durations.

¹⁵ My study was not designed to accommodate non-gender-conforming youth, as the camp had not previously served openly trans youth before the aforementioned participant (see above note). As trans status did not bar participation and youth did not know about the gender stratification of my sampling, I believe my study was still equitably available to all youth. Furthermore, I strive to treat all youth respectfully with my descriptions of them and their actions, despite my initial lapse in planning.

¹⁶ Indeed, the camp has twice as many bunks allotted for girls in teen programs than for boys. Physical cabins' gender designations *are* sometimes switched to accommodate fluctuations in gender ratios.

Because of my experience with Camp Clore, I hypothesized that the Clore Corps members that had spent many years at camp may have perspectives distinct from those newer to the camp. Because of this, I also created a dichotomous camp seniority variable that split Corps members into old-timers (four or more summers as campers at Camp Clore¹⁷) and newcomers (three or fewer). Since the old-timers outnumbered the newcomers, I sought to hear from both groups because the age-based progression of roles and responsibilities at camp is important to the experience, and thus understandings, of youth at camp. Old-timers, by this estimation, would have experienced at least four years as campers at camp previously. Empirically, a pilot study in Spring 2011 also suggested the importance of seniority in how youth respond to questions about learning teamwork. I hoped to enrich my results by ensuring a diversity of experiences along relevant dimensions.

Camp Clore assigns all Clore Corps applicants to a multi-week session (see Figure 2; 3-week in 2011, 2-week in 2014) and it is within each session that I sampled, capturing all Corps members at camp at that time. I proceeded, then, by selecting participants randomly from the list of Corps members in each of four groupings: female old-timers, male old-timers, female newcomers, and male newcomers.

Figure 2. *Clore Corps Session Schedule*

2014	Session A		Sess. B		Sess. C		Sess. D		Sess. E
2011	Session 1			Sess. 2			Sess. 3		
Week	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8	Week 9

The final sample included 25 camp old-timers and 25 newcomers, from a sampling frame that was 77% old-timer and 23% newcomer. In terms of the two-by-two stratification by gender and camp seniority, my sample had 14 female newcomers, 12 female old-timers, 11 male newcomers, and 13 male old-timers.

The youth were assured that their participation was optional in informational meetings, and, once selected, given two more explicit opportunities to decline to participate (consent procedures are discussed later in the methods section). At the beginning of the interview, they were also told that they could skip any items they wanted and cease to participate at any point of the project. Only one person out of the 51 that I selected declined to be interviewed (for unspecified reasons). Another was randomly selected from the appropriate stratum to replace this person.

¹⁷ Those that spent 4 or more summers at Camp Clore necessarily spent at least two years in each of two separate programs. The newcomers, in contrast, would mainly have experience with the teen programs at camp.

Interviews

I conducted all of the interviews myself. I practiced using the interview guide before each summer with a few Clore Corps members from the previous summer. Each participant was interviewed a single time. Interviews were audio-recorded and lasted an average of 26.5 minutes, ranging from 15 to 46 minutes. Participants and I sat down for our interview around where they were working that day, out of earshot of their peers and leaders.

All interviews were conducted at least five days into youth's Corps session so that they could amass ample teamwork experiences and acclimate to the program before we spoke. The average date of interview happened on their 14th day in the Corps program, ranging from their 6th to 20th day. Interviews with the youth in 2011 took place during the second and third weeks of each session. Within the shortened two-week sessions of 2014, interviews took place at the end of the first and throughout the second week of each session. I postulated that capturing experiences at different time points within the program arc would offer a broader variety of experiences, as youth would be in various stages of knowledge regarding how to do their tasks and familiarity with co-workers.

I spread my interviews across all Corps sessions each summer so that memoing, preliminary analysis, changes to the interview guide, and writing could go on between interviews in accordance with the unfolding of grounded theory analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). I captured fresh learning episodes by doing interviews as the program was going on, just after youth worked. This immediacy of interviewing meets one of Ericsson and Simon's (1984) criteria for "veridical" retrospective self-reports of learning processes. Two other criteria, met by this study, are processes that are of sufficient duration and relatively easy to describe. Since the learning under description spanned learning episodes, rather than, say, flashes of insight unrelated to the situation, the processes were long enough. Furthermore, with the cognitive development noted in literature review, I found the youth in my study quite capable of describing the antecedents and unfolding processes in their learning.

Interview Guide

The content of this guide has evolved through various phases of this project, from planning the initial pilot for my master's, through ongoing revision as I collected data, to continuing edits as analysis continued and new research questions for my dissertation project (see a very early and a much later version of the guide in Appendices B and E, respectively). Additionally, my procedures and use of the guide changed with my reflective experience in interviewing.

Beyond the selection of persons to participate in my study, I used the interview guide to sample youth's experiences in the program purposively. Since I posited that all Clore Corps participants had relevant experiences, theoretical sampling entailed seeking particular *learning episodes*, rather than

persons, in this study. In this section, I outline the logic behind the creation and use of the interview guide.

Use of the Interview Guide

Regarding my use of the interview guide, I stress the responsive dynamics of my interviews as constructivist and semi-structured (Charmaz, 2014). Deriving, in part, from Reed Larson and colleagues' grounded developmental explorations into youth programs (Larson, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005), my study did not begin with unstructured interviews to start from scratch from youth's narrative accounts of learning teamwork (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Rather, Larson et al.'s prior work allowed me to begin with a set of directed question types to elicit stories in line with my research questions. As described below, I did not use the guide in a linear manner, but sought to prompt narrative detail around my themes of interest and to let their own accounts of relevant events unfold.

To operationalize teamwork in my guide, I combined two techniques that allow for the flexibility in definition that my literature review suggested was helpful for studying teamwork in context. By simply asking about *teamwork* in many questions, I allowed for youth to relate experiences in terms of their own understanding of the idea. On the other hand, I also made reference to a variety of group work situations—ranging from cooperative to conflictual¹⁸—that youth could have encountered in the Clore Corps and inquire about what they learn through the collaboration. Again, this lets different notions of teamwork coexist in the narratives of the youth. When I rely on the participants' construal of what constitutes teamwork, I prevent an overly narrow or externally imposed framework from limiting the exploratory and grounded nature of the study. I propose that this is especially important in light of recent qualitative work showing a variety of teamwork styles and models that underlie youth collaboration in out-of-school activities, but are under-acknowledged by researchers (Guest, 2008; Mekinda & Hirsch, 2014). A caution for interpreting my findings, then, is to recognize how youth's preconceptions of the term *teamwork* and my experience with the program guided our discussion of collaboration and learning, perhaps leaving less common ideas of what teamwork is unexamined.

Content of the Interview Guide

The interview guide used for the 2014 (Stage 2) interviews was split into sections that served different purposes with regard to the research questions (see Appendix E). One section inquired about particular teamwork situations (Type A questions); another (Type B) explicitly inquired around learning and changes in skills and strategies; a third set of questions (Type C) explored other aspects of the

¹⁸ As implied above, I used Larson (2007) and Larson et al. (2005) as the basis for the types of situations I included in my study. I translated the situation types I saw in their work to apply to the context of the Clore Corps program.

ecology that youth understood to shape constructive peer processes.¹⁹ Probing questions and follow-ups (henceforth, *probes*) to elicit particular details were interspersed among sections in interviews and only certain broad and fruitful ones were crystallized on the interview guides. Other edits were made to content over the course of the study. A section on peer relationships, for example, was briefly included, but dropped soon after the Stage 2 pilot interviews showed that the section yielded little useful data. Additionally, some questions about outcomes were added in Stage 2 only for the benefit of the camp.

Questions about teamwork situations (Type A) were used to get in-depth narrative accounts from youth. I elicited elaboration when youth alluded to change in collaborative skills or strategies, seeking to get details of the situation (learning episode) and ascertain how they understood the situation and learning therein. Conversely, Type B questions about learning teamwork asked the youth to reflect on change processes. These were followed up with probes into whether youth could think of specific events, or learning episodes, associated with the change. In this way, both Type A and B questions served as different starting points for getting similar data: narrative detail of a learning episode and explicit description of the learning taking place. Type B questions were worded so as to include slight variations in the conceptualization of learning and development. Type C questions, then, were often applied to elaborated learning episodes to further elucidate the ecology of teamwork development. Aspects of the ecology that emerged in youth's accounts in Stage 1 (2011) and pilot interviews were incorporated as Type C questions in later interviews.

I now return in greater detail to the content of the questions. For Type A questions, I asked participants about a variety of teamwork situations that they could have encountered in the Corps: e.g. seeking compromise, negotiating disagreements, navigating different goals, etc. These situations accumulated on the basis of my extensive experience²⁰ with the Corps program and over research interviews with the youth. I scrutinized the content of teamwork situations— in terms of valence (emotionally positive or negative), whether youth successfully got along, and whether youth resolved group difficulties – and then I made appropriate adjustments to include a helpful variety and range, mostly dropping less fruitful questions, shifting wording to change emphasis, and making additions based on stories I heard.. I initially modeled the question formats on Larson and colleagues' Pathways Project interview (Rusk et al., 2013; Salusky et al., 2014), eventually making incremental changes in accordance with youth responses and insights from ongoing memoing. Throughout the years of this project, moreover, I updated these situations extensively based on the pilots before each data-collection summer,

¹⁹ The three separate Type designations, (A, B, and C) are retroactively assigned and do not align with the categorizations on the guides in the appendices, which were themselves not constant or necessarily coherent. Rather the groupings on actual guides I used were intended to serve me heuristically in the conduct of actual interviews.

²⁰ I participated for 6 weeks in the Clore Corps as a teenager and spent 3 summers in Corps leadership during college.

on my continuing involvement at Camp Clore, on ongoing reading of teamwork and youth program literature, and on the evolving analysis (compare Appendices B and E for different versions at different timepoints).

I made use of question probes to seek narrative details associated with these events. Some probes were optional and scripted, but many were improvised and unfolded from the conversation. These often clarified episode chronology, learning outcomes, or youth's understanding of causality (e.g. precipitating incidents or influential processes and events). Probes were also used to transition between Type A and B questions (and vice versa), serving to enrich youth's accounts of learning.

The Type B questions elicited new skills, strategies, or insights for teamwork – with responses intended to be the what-learned statements to Type A's how-learned stories. I often used answers to Type B questions to see if youth could recall how they learned. To get to the how-learned narrative from a rich response to a Type B what-learned response, I tended to ask questions like “How did you figure that out?” or “Can you think of a specific time that shows that?” Type B questions were also be appended, often in shorter form, to narratives that came out of Type A questions, in order to see if youth would “take away” or learn anything from a reported event.

The Type B questions themselves were phrased and framed in various ways to allow for collaborative skills, strategies, and insights or other conceptualizations of learning.²¹ I asked about teamwork-related themes ranging from advice youth would give, what they figured out, strategies, and explicitly about learning to ascertain their shifting understanding and actions around working together well.

I should reiterate, here, that I considered Type B questions to be rather similar in their function of essentially asking what youth learned about teamwork in the Clore Corps. Rather than asking “What did you learn?” with various wordings, I asked Type B questions in specific ways to elicit new thoughts. By asking questions from this section non-sequentially or in connection with specific episodes, youth were able to think about different things they had learned. Similarly, by only using a few Type B questions of varied form and typically when initial responses were not promising, I was able to get new and different responses with subsequent queries. Youth very rarely complained of redundant interview questions.

The focus on expanding my ecological considerations for Type C questions arose out of the continued analysis since the Perry (2013a) analysis. Abductive reasoning – blending external theories, close attention to the data, and my own ongoing theorizing – guided my thinking about the ecology of teamwork development (Charmaz, 2014). Based on what Stage 1 interviewees named and alluded to in

²¹ When I say “conceptualizations of learning,” I am referring to youth's folk theories and ways of thinking about the learning that I lay out more formally in this dissertation. The questions, then, were intended to be vernacular and intelligible to the teenagers at camp.

their narratives, I brought new potential concepts and processes into my theoretical project. I inquired into areas such as *spatiality* (e.g. how the layout of the kitchen afforded learning in particular ways), *program culture* (the atmosphere of the program or camp cultural values shaping goals and actions on the team), *temporality* (temporal progression of the Corps session or year of involvement with Camp Clore as influential), or input from both *peers and adults* and how these ecological “domains” formed the context of learning processes.²²

I used Type C questions to explore specific ecological details in given narratives. These questions were brought in whenever I sensed that a learning episode had minimally sufficient ‘what-learned’ and ‘how-learned’ information, but youth could describe more about the circumstances. Typically, I only inquired around one or two ecological domain with a particular episode and often youth brought up at least one in their initial teamwork narrative. During the Stage 2 interviews, after ecological themes emerged from my ongoing analysis of Stage 1 data, I was much more aware of these thematic possibilities and consistently followed up when youth alluded to the aspects of program ecology I had identified.

To return briefly to the subject of using the interview guide, I used both Type A and Type B questions to work toward eliciting detailed stories of teamwork development. Once a suitably elaborate teamwork learning episode was mentioned, questioning proceeded in a flexible manner, based on youth response and current theoretical priorities. Probes and questions from throughout the guide were used to capture the details of the event that were relevant to the research questions. This is, in essence, how I “sampled by event,” accumulating episodes and using the details surrounding the learning as a basis for analysis.

Data Analysis

The analysis for this project constituted an iterative and nonlinear process, drawing on grounded theory methods to explore ideas as they emerged from the data. This account does not fully reflect the many false starts, theoretical dead ends, incomplete sub-analyses, or unanswered questions that ultimately enrich a qualitative project. Nevertheless, I outline the development of the main body of ideas presented in my findings, including major decision points and the principal analytic tributaries that contributed to this product. Below, I expand on the common treatment received by my data, before explaining stages of analysis specific to each research question. Last, I describe the writing stages that comprised the questions’ integration into a final cohesive account and discuss how I handled ethical considerations.

Common analytic treatment. Whereas earlier I began a coarse sorting of possible mechanisms of positive peer influence (Perry, 2013a), this dissertation expanded the analysis to work out a detailed

²² While these ecological domains were initially slated to form the basis for their own analysis, they were later dropped. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Type C questions enriched the description of learning episodes that youth gave.

account of the episodes in which teens learned teamwork. In the interim since the earlier analysis, I furthered my thinking with ongoing memoing and writing, continued involvement with the Corps program, and presenting results to camp researchers and professionals. Moreover, I made use of memoing, constant comparison, and abductive reasoning as my overarching analytic techniques. I first give a broad outline of how I used these three techniques and then return to specifics in the analysis by research question.

Returning to Camp Clore each summer, I was able to discuss my findings with stakeholders in the Corps program, including organization administrators, program leaders, and past and current participants. Additionally, I informally observed the program with my ongoing analysis in mind. These practices helped me maintain a continued engagement with my research context, even though three years passed between waves of data collection. Continuing to write up findings from this project has led me to develop them to the point where they were ready for public exposition. With this analytic work and the feedback I received, I weighed the possible inclusion of certain strands of analysis, gauged the fruitfulness of possible interpretations of data, and identified new areas of exploration for my second wave of data collection.

Previously, I explored patterns in *what* youth learned that constituted their teamwork microdevelopment, but this analysis was eventually left out to leave ample room for describing the understudied process of *how* teamwork was learned (Perry, 2014). Another piece reported on Corps program leaders' role in facilitating constructive peer processes among the adolescent participants (Perry, 2015). Despite being a conceptually promising direction – into an aspect of what I saw as the ecology of the microdevelopment under study – this angle, too, was omitted from this dissertation. My work in 2013, in contrast, more clearly lies in the lineage of the findings presented in this dissertation (Perry, 2013b). The subsequent analysis, leading to this dissertation, evolved from that.

To return to techniques, the practice of memoing has undergirded the whole of this project. From the idea stage of this project to writing up results, I have recorded and catalyzed progress through theoretical and analytic memos (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). I used memos, not only to record insights in analysis, but to construct my analysis, asking questions about the data and developing answers (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Considerations expounded in memos regarding the project's theoretical direction – in relation to both patterns in the data and gaps in extant literature, for instance – precipitated purposeful choices about which areas and themes to follow up with and which to omit. Memos also helped me bridge the conceptual gap between codes and writing my theoretical findings (Charmaz, 2014). I investigated relationships and patterns among codes, developed emergent categories, and used these to distinguish significant characteristics of the categories. Figure 3 gives a memo excerpt,

from during the writing stages, where I hypothesized the properties of my analytic categories²³ which were grouped by episodal stance. Moreover, critical reflexivity (through memoing) helped me situate myself in relation to the research process and to continually interrogate my role in the grounded, emergent process of theorizing (Glaser, 1992; McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007).

Another broad set of techniques, known as *constant comparative methods* (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) helped me throughout this project to make analytic distinctions, whether at the level of learning episodes, processes, or category characteristics. As these analytic techniques were not independent of one another, my memos often consisted of elaborated comparisons in prose form. As such, constant comparison informed coding and allowed for differences to emerge in the form of

distinct categories, properties, and patterns. By bringing this formal analytic technique to bear on both waves of data, I was able to develop new understandings of variations in teen learning processes. As I show below, comparative methods were foregrounded in the development of my analytic framework and descriptive model of teamwork microdevelopment.

To go beyond the endpoint of my prior work, this dissertation made more use of connections among relevant research literatures and my original findings; in short, I employed abductive logic. Whether contrasting elements within the data or bringing in ideas for comparative assessment as suggested by the literature, abduction used with comparison helped keep the analysis grounded in the data, while furthering the development of theory. Beginning with the transcripts collected in 2011, I did “logical and innovative” abduction (Reichert, 2010): cycling between sensitizing concepts from theory and my own data. Abduction combines strengths of induction and deduction to construct theory (Charmaz, 2006). Simultaneously, I used inductive logic working from the data I collected from youth and deductive logic to incorporate existing concepts from theories on adolescent development, (collaborative) learning, and peer relationships. In this way I set theoretical directions, arrived at reasoned conceptual insights, and developed original ideas through novel connections.

Analysis for research question #1. *RQ 1) How do youth accomplish the social process of learning teamwork with their peers at camp?* For this question, I developed a descriptive model of teamwork microdevelopment episodes. Moving through a typical grounded-theory progression, I discerned basic social processes, followed by properties and characteristics of the emergent categories

Figure 3. *Analytic memo excerpt*

Category Property Comparison,
January, 12, 2015

*“Peers as Co-Learners (PaC) and Peers as People (PaP) are both heavy on mutuality and parity, with Peers as Exemplars (PaE) less so. PaP & PaE involve teens learning **from** peers, while PaC consists more of learning **with** them. The difference with PaE’s learning from, is that there is more of a perceived knowledge/skill differential.”*

²³ The first category, PaC, was dropped from the final analysis.

(around episodal stances), and finally an analytic framework and description to capture the patterns of similarity and difference across learning episodes (Charmaz, 2014).

I began in the interview transcripts by identifying all teamwork-related peer-learning episodes where youth reported participation of their peers in that learning process. Youth described these as events in which they reported learning about teamwork, figuring out strategies for collaboration, or changing how they were working together, as a result of what was happening in the program. I have included a sample learning episode in Appendix A.

For RQ1, I examined how youth described learning on teams within the Clore Corps, including their constructive peer processes. Beginning with a focus on peer participation in learning, I ended up coding mainly for peer involvement and basic learning processes in each learning episode.

Initial coding. I first applied open coding (see Figure 4) at the level of sentences and conversational turns that included peers. This round of coding 1) included short action phrases (including verbs ending in -ing) to remain close to the data, 2) allowed for a variety of codes to capture actions and processes as described by participants, and 3) used *in vivo* codes whenever possible, based on the participants' own words (Charmaz, 2014).

Figure 4. *Initial coding examples*

Sample initial (gerund) codes:

- “trying to meld to their work personality” -*Marta*
- “learn[ing] what *not* to do” -*Daniel*
- “decid[ing] to come and help” -*Jesse*
- “accept[ing] and go[ing] with the flow” -*Ben*

On the one hand, the relatively open nature of these initial codes helped me remain receptive to new possibilities and directions indicated by the data. On the other, they also tended to comprise the main peer actions and learning processes as youth described them. This Charmazian approach to studying basic social process helped me see the potential, early on, for an analysis of *how* youth learned, rather than the recognizable approach of seeking outcomes, where I considered cataloging *what* youth learned about teamwork (Charmaz, 2014). As I compared initial codes, I frequently noted aspects of how peers participated in learning episodes and of what the youth were saying about how they learned from and responded to peers. This led me to derive focused codes that build upon this direction, looking at peers' roles in learning.

Focused coding. The focused codes (see Figure 5), as consequents of the initial coding process, let me select and synthesize initial codes as they related to the concept of a peer's role in the learning episode. Through constant comparison among initial codes and theoretical memoing of increasing sophistication, I came up with focused codes that grouped together episodes where peers' roles were described similarly or youth related to peers in comparable fashion.²⁴ Episodes that were similar in how

²⁴ Many episodes did contain multiple peers playing distinct roles (fewer had a single peer playing multiple roles over an extended episode).

Figure 5. *Focused coding example*

Focused code:

“[peer as] helper”

Includes episodes: in which peers help the learner directly, with a task or with an interpersonal situation

Passage:

“somebody else came to do his job” [when he left her alone] -*Devin*

Initial codes: helping with job, coming to help without being asked

youth perceived their peers’ actions shared a designation and received labels to reflect a particular peer episodal stance. This process served as an interim step to build on initial codes and lay groundwork for the development of theoretically important categories based on episodal stances (Charmaz, 2014). This iterative, focused coding let me check my codes against more data, while building and revising categories and ultimately leading into the higher-level

conceptual and analytic distinctions. The focused coding generated over twenty peer role designations to cover all of the teamwork microdevelopment episodes I had identified (such as peer as standard, peer as role model, and peer as motivator).²⁵

Other techniques. Useful in the course of focused coding and categorizing regarding peers were the practices of axial coding and diagramming. I worked, as the analysis continued, to delineate what would and would not receive a particular code in addition to setting the boundaries of nascent categories. Axial coding, employed as a manner of conceptual mapping, helped me situate codes, categories, and learning processes in relation to one another (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Exploring potential relationships for categorization, my axial coding sought to group episodes in ways that made sense to my topic of learning processes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I moved forward with my theorizing by also using axial coding to try out ways of grouping and dividing up episodes by focused code. Through axial coding, I arrived at groupings of episodes that shared commonalities not only in terms of peers’ episodal stances, but with regard to the learning processes described in episodes. These groupings became nascent categories as a result of including commonalities and considerations beside the peer stance. They combined multiple sets of episodes that had been labeled by a focused code describing a single stance. The categories still revolved around the concept of the episodal stance, although they grouped many of these stances based on common learning processes and outcomes in the episodes. These groupings began to resemble the categories that took more definite shape in the final writing stages. The two final groupings became the categories presented in the next chapter; they are labeled Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars.

²⁵ During focused coding, I was not always able to decide on a single descriptor for a peer’s actions in an episode. Moreover, the focused codes did overlap some. If two episodes each received a different focused code, a peer’s action in a third might resemble both, blurring a distinction that had seemed clearer.

The majority of episodes fell into the categories of Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars, so I decided to focus on these two. Other nascent categories and episodes with less frequent stances were not incorporated into the final analysis. These stances included those such as *peers as dependers* and *peers as learning collaborators*. Because these categories had fewer cases, there was insufficient data to achieve the level of depth and coherence that I was seeking.

On occasion, throughout this process, I would render my analysis in graphic form – as part of axial coding or as a way of exploring particular ideas and relationships between concepts – and use this diagramming to explore relationships between ideas in my emergent model. This diagramming was not a major part of my analysis, but did help my understanding of the data and of relationships between concepts. Memos, additionally, became longer at the point that I brought in these later-stage techniques, in order to integrate ideas in theoretical and analytic contemplation. Memos helped elucidate the boundaries of my categories. In exploring and comparing episodes in writing, I was able to make determinations regarding both the parameters of the category and the fit of an episode into that category. Indeed, the writing process, described below, constituted a distinct stage of analysis that continued to refer to data, even as categories and theorizing crystallized.

I next describe the within-category analysis. The prior techniques helped give form to the two categories that appear in my findings, but in order to provide a “thicker” description of teamwork microdevelopment, I also elaborated my analysis within each category. To do so, I revisited earlier codes while continuing to rely on constant comparative methods and memoing in addition to doing new coding. This within-category analysis was informative to my understanding of the variation among learning episodes and is salient in the report of the findings. Indeed, the distinctions between categories are backgrounded in the Findings chapter, in order to provide ample space for within-category description. The new coding and review of prior coding strategies, employed with categories, brought about many new comparisons and originated the conceptual framework that undergirds my presentation of the findings. This particular architecture, that I explain in more detail as I introduce the findings, has helped me conceptualize the results of the comparative analysis.

Figure 6. *Coding strategy example*

<p>Strategy name: Initial Response</p> <p>Abbreviation: INIT</p> <p>Description of feature: Since all learning episodes that I used revolved around peers’ words or actions, youth often had an <u>initial response</u> to that behavior. Thus, INIT codes seek to describe the learner’s initial response in a single episode.</p> <p>Sample INIT codes: giving peer a chance to speak, making peers work your own way</p>

The creation and revisiting of coding strategies (see Figure 6) gave me many ways to compare episodes. Since the point of establishing “learning episodes” as a primary unit of analysis, I tried out many ways to code episodes (which I call coding strategies) that accentuated patterns and variation. These

coding strategies reflected a sort of “incident-by-incident” technique (Charmaz, 2014), in which each code described a particular facet or feature of each episode.²⁶ Of about ten coding strategies, each around a single feature of episodes, that were strong enough to be applied to most of the episode data, five are represented in my results section.²⁷ Each of the coding strategies that I used lent itself to a comparative analysis and progressed through initial and focused coding to eventually arrive at a way of grouping episodes that were alike on the basis of the feature cataloged by that strategy. This feature-based grouping strategy, which happened within categories, is further described as part of the findings chapter.

Analysis for research question #2. RQ 2) *If youth are drawing from their peers, how do they exercise agency in their learning?* Analysis of RQ2 proceeded from the analysis of RQ1, but relied on different coding procedures to investigate agency within episodes. The first major distinction of the RQ2 analysis was its reliance on abductive reasoning. The second distinction was that it followed and relied on the categorizing by episodal stance for RQ1. Comparisons in agentic processes were made between the analytic categories that were established by the RQ1 analysis.

The following paragraphs lay out the steps that I took to analyze RQ2, from initial coding to integration with RQ1. The initial coding for RQ2 was similar to that of RQ1, but coded for learner’s agency – agency, in the sense of youth’s description of the basic processes of being creative with and directing their own learning. I considered agency as part of the learning I was describing for RQ1 and as related to particular episodal stances. The agency analysis from Perry (2013a, 2013b) of Stage 1 data, moreover, permitted the ready incorporation of Stage 2 data by means of abductive logic.

To blend induction and deduction, I consulted relevant literature to find theoretical insights and see if they could “earn their way” into the analysis of my own data. Perspectives on youth agency that informed the deductive component of abduction included Bandura’s (2005) social cognitive theory, Fischer and Bidell’s dynamic structuralism (2006), and Larson and Angus’ (2011) ground theoretical model from youth programs. The way these authors talked about learning and agency sensitized my eye for ways to conceptualize youth’s active agency in the episodes from the data. This abduction and coding for RQ2 constituted a less extensive analysis than for RQ1. Within categories and groupings from the RQ1 portion, results from the analysis for RQ2 translated into further descriptive findings in the final write-up.

Theoretical integration and writing. The writing process pushed the conceptual analysis forward for both research questions. I worked toward a coherent set of findings through iterative revisions of the parts of this manuscript. All levels of my project underwent refinement, from the research

²⁶ An example of an episodal feature that I analyzed is the circumstances or event that precipitated the learning episode, which I call the *episodal impetus*.

²⁷ Three features (one feature per coding strategy) were reported for each of two categories, but since one as repeated, four total strategies are represented instead of six.

questions to conclusions, as I set the ideas to page and tried to present a cohesive body of research. I re-coded and re-sorted data in an effort to clarify category characteristics and boundaries. The writing process enabled the final crystallization of findings and insights from the data.

Ethical Considerations

Access. As a longtime member of the Camp Clore community, I was able to gain access to members of the Corps program for the purposes of a research interview. As a former Corps Leader, I knew the current leaders and could navigate schedules for data collection while the Clore Corps was in session, without disrupting their programming. For my project, I acquired contact information for families (to send consent forms, see Appendix F for the form) and lists of participants (for sampling). My relationship with the camp made it easy to gain access to the grounds, the participants, and the information I need.

Risk and consent. The risk for participants in my study were minimal. The study procedures, including consent and assent forms, were approved by the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board. The Clore Corps director and its umbrella organization also approved the project. All Clore Corps parents received letters informing them of the study and giving them ample time to opt their child out of selection for this study. I went over the youth assent form (see Appendix G) with each participant, once they were selected. I reminded youth about voluntariness of their participation, confidentiality of responses, and their right to skip questions. One young man took the opportunity to decline to participate upon selection; another young woman decided not to be recorded; the rest of the youth that I approached agreed to participate, approved recording, and answered all questions. The youth in this study received no incentives, although their participation “got them out of work” for the duration of their interview. I do not believe that this influenced interview responses. Upon introducing the project to all Clore Corps youth, they were told the study was about *teamwork* and working together. I said that the interviews would ask them for stories about their time in the program. They were given the chance to ask questions as a group and, once selected, as individuals.

I endeavored to be particularly sensitive, as a researcher of young people, due to the age difference and imbalance in social power between myself and the youth. Building positive rapport and being attuned to discomfort or reluctance were valuable strategies for maintaining a consensual and mutually positive encounter. Having many years experience working with teenagers in the camp setting, I felt at ease interacting with adolescents in this setting and attending to their comfort level. Lastly, I also was sensitive to comfort in participation by reading and responding to teens’ body language. For instance, I adjusted the direction of the conversation, depth of follow-up, and my own comportment in reply to participants’ responses and reactions during the interview. This level of precautions served to respect the autonomy of youth and to mitigate my adult and camp authority.

Data handling. To safeguard the data collected in this project, all identifiable data and files were protected according to guidelines as advised by the IRB. Only I had access to the identifying participant list, while research assistants who complete the appropriate trainings had access to the audio recordings, but no other data.

Believability and Trustworthiness

Rather than the reliability or validity sought in quantitative work, I aimed for trustworthiness and believability (Eisner, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Two techniques from Creswell (2003) proved invaluable: negative case analysis and providing thick, rich descriptions. Examining and explaining *negative cases* that did not fit well with the emergent theory strengthened the claims I made about the data. While not reflected in my findings chapter, the negative case analysis played a significant role in the categorization process. In determining ways to group episodes, my memoing and comparison of cases, including negative cases, helped determine and test the boundaries of categories. As properties of categories emerged and were refined, episodes were added and subtracted from the set. Negative cases, then, were useful to highlighting what each category would include and what similarities were important for the processes under study.

Similarly, thick, rich descriptions of the events and processes—including the words of the youth themselves—made the presentation of my grounded theory more believable. I used detail to improve the resonance of narrative evidence. Bringing together examples from many youth and using direct quotes to illustrate theoretical ideas helped me depict my findings. Finally, a research diary (including both descriptive and theoretical memo-writing) and field notes contributed to an audit trail that speaks to the credibility of the work (Charmaz, 2014; Chen, Shek, & Bu, 2011; Koch & Harrington, 1998).

In addition to these particular techniques, the constant comparison that constitutes grounded theory methods contributed to trustworthiness. Cycling back-and-forth between data and various analytic levels made the work *grounded*. This characteristic of analysis meant that codes, categories, processes, and, eventually, models were each developed, in turn, with direct reference to actual data.

Finally, consultation with an expert qualitative researcher allowed for a sort of external audit of my research process (Creswell, 2003). By developing this project with the guidance of an experienced qualitative developmentalist with expertise in youth programs and learning processes, I subjected my analyses and interpretations to independent review.

Chapter Four: Findings

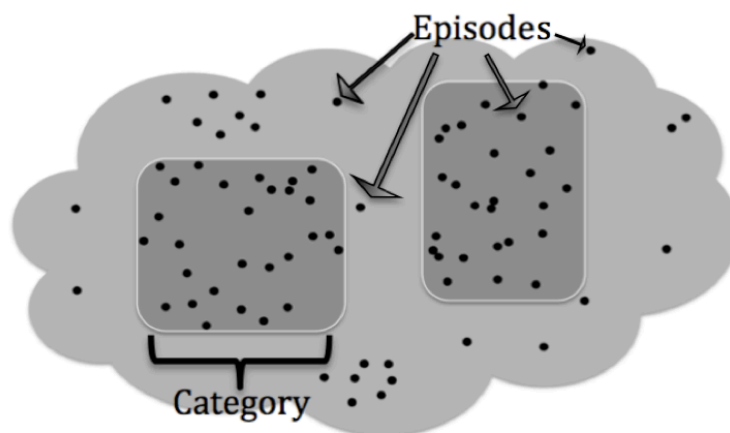
This chapter describes the findings of my research project with teenagers working at summer camp. I lay out the results of my grounded theory exploration of the overarching issue of how youth learn teamwork, as represented in my first research question: *How do youth accomplish the social process of learning teamwork with their peers at camp?* To answer this question, I lay out a comparative description of teamwork microdevelopment episodes that emerged from my grounded analysis of the data.

To present the results of my comparative analysis of learning episodes, I stipulated a particular emergent framework that helps organize and elucidate what I saw in the data. I review this theoretical and textual organization, introduced in the Methods chapter, below as the point of entry to my findings. The conceptual framework has helped me describe the variation in what it looks like when teens creatively and actively learn teamwork with their peers. The second research question, *If youth are drawing from their peers, how do they exercise agency in their learning?* is integrated throughout this chapter, but revisited in the discussion chapter.

To begin with, this chapter is divided into analyses of the two analytic *categories*. Grouping together episodes that share similarities in terms of episodal stances toward peers, learning processes, and other attributes; I present the categories entitled Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars. Figure 7 represents all learning episodes in my study (dots) and introduces a spatial metaphor associated with my analytic framework. The physical proximity of dots in Figure 7 represents similarities among episodes at the conceptual level.²⁸ With dots as episodes²⁹ and the two boxes representing the two focal categories, Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars, one also sees that some episodes are not readily grouped in either box. The dots outside of these boxes represent episodes (such as those discussed in the analysis section) that do not fall into groupings that have the theoretical cogency of the two categories.

As described in the Analysis section of the Methods chapter, I identified salient features of youth's learning

Figure 7. Visual model of episode categorization



²⁸ As described in the prior chapter, the conceptual similarities that unite episodes in a category include the episodal stance of youth's peers, in addition to the nature and outcome of learning processes.

²⁹ The number of dots is not representative of the relative distribution per category or any count of episodes.

episodes with the use of coding strategies at the level of the incident or episode. Features were compared among the episodes grouped within each category. The rest of this chapter focuses on describing the features of episodes in each category, beginning with Peers and People.

Category I: Peers as People

The focal commonality in this grouping of learning episodes was youth seeing their teammates as people – as human beings with their own personalities, autonomy, working styles, feelings, agendas, shortcomings, relational habits, and talents. Acknowledging these human qualities of their peers was foundational to what, and how, they learned about teamwork. In these episodes, youth saw their peers as more than stereotypes, than members of *that* school, than one-dimensional problems to solve, than manipulable characters in a story, than Others to ignore or exclude or hang out to dry. The peer stances in the episodes allowed for humanization and this was fundamental to the learning in this category. The Peers as People episodes also were united by the nature and outcome of the learning process. Viewing their peers as worthwhile beings helped them get through daily interactions, see others' points-of-view, and reason interpersonally. Acceptance and accommodation were themes in what youth learned from their peers in these episodes.

My coding strategies, as described in the last chapter, identified three features that appeared to be key to learning within the episodes of the Peers as People category. These were features that, across youth, showed variation within each category and that appeared to represent meaningful differences in the processes through which youth learned teamwork.

The first feature was the *episodal impetus*: the event or circumstances that precipitated the episode among Corps members. As I describe, different episodes began with differing instigating events. These different impetuses were catalysts for distinct teamwork learning situations.

The second feature was the youth's *initial responses* to this instigating event or circumstances. These reactions to the episodal impetus from the learners were, productive or not, part of their teamwork microdevelopmental processes. The two features of the impetus and the learner's response make up the initiation of learning episodes in this category.

The third feature, *reasoning about peers*, deals with the learner's thinking about their coworkers across the chronological episode. In focusing in this feature I attempted to capture variations in how learners reasoned about peers and their actions. Reflecting shifts in thinking, modes of thought, and dispositions toward peers; this reasoning is a key part of learners' process of teamwork microdevelopment. Through the explication of these three features, I present the first portion of my comparative description, before moving on to the second category, Peers as Exemplars, and its features. First, I describe the episodes of teamwork microdevelopment that reflect the orientation of learners toward their Peers as People.

Feature A: Episodal impetus. Most of the stories told about Peers as People give an account of some peer input that catalyzed the circumstances constituting the learning episode. I examined these impetuses to catalog variation among the episodes and to connect this to learning. Early in my work, I thought that *inciting incidents* where peers hindered teamwork might be a key feature, but a closer look indicated that the broader term *impetus* fit youth's various stories better. Most of the impetuses were negative, or situations that youth did not think of as ideal circumstances for collaboration. In terms of the learning episodes where youth saw Peers as People, these impetuses reflect how the situation began.

The variation that youth reported regarding the initial stages of the learning episode appeared to be important to the processes under study. My analysis identified three clusters of episodal impetuses: work problems, peers' personal problems, and learners' bias.

Cluster 1: Work problems. At the beginning of the episodes in this cluster, youth were confronted by issues with their peers around their shared tasks that ranged from job performance to collaborative abilities. Many episodes began with youth accounts of (some of) their peers just not fulfilling their responsibilities for their assigned task in the Corps. Whether they were "standing around," "sit[ting] down," "talking," "not helping," or just "not working," these slacking peers were noticed. Likewise, several other peers were working, but inadequately, by "not going fast," "doing a bad job," making extra work for others, "going slow," or "fumbling" in a way that catalyzed further reaction from the youth who told me the stories (see the *initial response* feature below for more on these reactions).

Cluster 2: Peers' personal problems. In other episodes, youth made note of their peers' personal problems as leading into a situation that became a learning episode. These impetuses anticipated or faced "overly sensitive" teammates or imputed poor cooperation to peers. The set of sensitive peers got frustrated, got annoyed, got agitated, got bugged, or just stressed people out with their emotional displays. Learners felt these poor cooperators, meanwhile, were "not listening," "arguing," or were "more stubborn" on the job. These examples represent the last of the negative, *peer-attributed* catalysts.

Cluster 3: Learner's bias. Also fairly negative were the cases where youth recounted the impetus to learning being a personal bias that they themselves had coming into the program or to a particular situation. This impetus, here, was more clearly about the learner's self in relation to others, than clearer cases (in their minds) of peer misconduct. This situation type differs from the prior negative encounters in that learners recognized the "bad start" as originating within these who told me of their preconceptions. A few youth reported making unfair inferences early on, prejudging a student of a rival school, or "form[ing] biased opinions." This seemed slightly different than the next couple, who inherited a *secondhand* prejudicial opinion from yet other peers: hearing that "he did this or she's like this" or concurring with popular opinion about a "unanimously disliked" teammate. These firsthand and secondhand biases did not last through the episode (indeed, dispelling them was likely part of the

learning) and were not congruent with the view of Peers as People; they constituted the impetus for the learning episode.

Impetuses and learning. As a relatively static or short-duration aspect of the episode, the impetus provides a starting point for understanding the learning. The three clusters, similar regarding the feature of episodal impetuses, shed light but on the sorts of situations that instigated a learning episode. Important to the chronology of most of the episodes within the Peers as People category was an episodal impetus, usually an event experienced as negative, from which the learning proceeded.

To bring in the focal concept of constructive peer processes, this feature admits us to the consideration of peer roles or stances. It is clear, even from the cross-sections of episodes, that peers' involvement is not uniformly upbuilding. Despite collecting episodes that I assert are distinguished by the prevalence of peer processes that are *constructive*, or positive, I do not insist that each thing a peer does or says seems positive in isolation. These impetuses, mostly reported as negative in valence, featured prominently in youth narratives and, I argue, play an important part in teamwork microdevelopment.

After the impetuses that precipitated the learning episode, most youth also described the way they responded to that event, to which I turn next. The analysis of the next feature examines the same episodes from the Peers as People category, but in clusters according to patterns of youth's initial response to the episodal impetus.

Feature B: Initial response. The youth who experienced the episodal impetuses analyzed in Feature A, also reported their initial³⁰ responses to the circumstances of those events. Arising out of my inductive analysis of the Peers as People category, the elaboration of this feature further elucidates and enriches descriptions of the constituent episodes' early stages. I subcategorized episodes into three main clusters in this scheme in accordance with their similarities regarding the learner's initial response to the impetus. The responses were split into clusters of reactions that were unhelpful, assertive, and helpful with regard to the group's goals or collaborative efforts.

Cluster 1: Unhelpful responses. The unhelpful initial responses of learners to situations with their peers manifested both externally in the form of negative social responses or more internally with their thoughts and emotional reactions. I use the label of *unhelpful* to reflect the fact that these responses, by themselves, were not directed toward successful resolution of the episode. In fact, youth moved on to more prosocial and dramatically different strategies and behaviors through the episode (indeed, this shift constitutes at least part of the learning of the episode). I also designate these responses as unhelpful for being less prosocial or accommodating as the actions and orientations that youth described as more positive teamwork.

³⁰ While the learners' actions throughout the entire event constituted, in a sense, a *response* to the episodal impetus, this second feature pointed narrowly to the *initial* response, or immediate reaction, from learners.

The majority of responses in this unhelpful cluster consisted of negative emotional responses to their peers. Youth described their initial reaction about a peer situation as including emotions like frustration, anger, stress, tension, annoyance, worry, impatience, getting worked up, and being bothered. Kyle³¹ described how she “was getting frustrated. I was like, ‘You’re not even listening to me!’” Her eventual repentance of this feeling – as she learned more about a teammate and saw how to work together well – showed the contrast between the initial response and the learner’s unfolding treatment of the situation. It is interesting to note that the *unhelpful* responses, while not resolving the cooperative issues at stake, were part of episodes where the situation did move forward. Another way to conceptualize their role in the learning process is as further catalysts: the episodal impetus sets in motion the learning episode, whereas the learner’s initial response, especially if negative and visible, called for yet further (re)action. Negative emotions, in that case, may have served an important purpose for these youth in spurring additional action and getting them to continue to seek new ways to do teamwork.

Other unhelpful responses were even more externally visible (or audible!) to their peers. Some were negative emotional displays directed at peers and many seemed to reflect an egocentric bias. Yelling at and arguing with peers was included here; so, too, were responses like refusing to work with someone after a negative episodal impetus. Phillip, when having “issues” with another person, reported “making them work your own thing” as his unhelpful response, as opposed to “actually work[ing] with them.” Phillip’s response, like the rest in this cluster, was not seen to be a prosocially helpful one.

Cluster 2: Assertive responses. Phillip’s overbearing reaction make for a good transition into the cluster of assertive responses that were neither clearly helpful or not, and of which there were only three in Peers as People. Though exceptionally small, this cluster demonstrates a possible trend and draws a helpful contrast with the other two clusters. These examples, on the face, were neither plainly helpful or unhelpful in their orientation toward collaboration, but they each displayed a certain assertiveness of response. Learners told their teammates what to do, explicated their own logic, and directed others’ work. Any of these could promote team goals in a given situation, or not. Ben’s non-episodal reflection³² on the first few days of the program envisioned his role as telling everyone, “Okay, do all this, this, and this” and that everyone and everything would just “work like this.” This assertive manner was not decidedly unhelpful to the team, but Ben did end up making adjustments. While it is often healthy for youth to be assertive as part of their group work, how they do so matters. Significantly, the three youth in these episodes did end up changing tactics after these initial responses, which could have contributed better to

³¹ I remind the reader that some youth chose their pseudonyms, while others did not. This is important to keep in mind when the text arrives at examples from youth “named” Slim Shady, Bob the Builder, and Dr. Seuss!

³² While I try to use clear-cut episodes that refer to specific events as the foundation of my analysis, sometimes other data that did not fit the designation of “episode” was also helpful. In this case, Ben’s “example,” which is a sort of cumulative account of several work sessions, encapsulates a descriptive version of assertive conduct.

group goals than balder assertion. The difference between this cluster and the prior one, then, is that the deemed-unhelpful responses in the prior cluster of episodes were clearly reported negatively, while these simply could have been more helpful.

Cluster 3: Helpful responses. The set of “helpful” responses, meanwhile, seemed more clearly productive. Many of these morphed into or constituted the strategy or skill that they were demonstrating in the episode as part of their teamwork microdevelopment. Thus, many of these relate noticeably to the reasoning examined below. There are several subdivisions within the helpful responses that show how youth could initially respond in a variety of positive or productive ways.

For some youth, it was significant that the first thing they did was hold back. Whether wanting to say something (and not saying it) or stopping oneself from getting mad and yelling, two teens spoke of responding with restraint to their peers.

Others began by trying to understand their peers. The learners saw how peers worked and endeavored to work them out as people and teammates. Similarly, a few immediately initiated the process of making a new friend and forming close, personal bonds.

The remaining two subdivisions of productive responses simultaneously demonstrated mutuality and accommodation. First, youth reacted to their peers with social skills that reflected an ethic of mutuality and parity. They started by giving others an opportunity to speak, they met in the middle, and helped without being asked. I see in these productive responses a generous allowance for peers, without an immediate expectation for reciprocation. As Dave put it, “talk to everyone, even if you don’t like them.” Second, others cooperatively accommodated peers on the job. Through switching people to subtasks that fit their strengths and tailoring interactive styles to another’s idiosyncrasies, youth aligned their manner of working with others. This mutuality and accommodation got youth off to a helpful start for learning and teamwork in an episode.

Initial responses and learning. In considering each of the clusters of initial response types, one can also discern how some of these descriptive differences apply to our topic of interest: the learning processes of teamwork microdevelopment.

A basic comparison of the relative frequency of episodes among clusters yields interesting points of discussion. Youth reported many more episodes in this category with an unhelpful response to the impetus in contrast with a helpful one. This juxtaposition, though, raises more questions than answers. My interviews did not provide information about whether the *helpful* responses were preceded by unreported, internal reactions. Perhaps more interesting is the idea that they reported so many negative (*unhelpful*) reactions at all. Their angry outbursts and judgmental attitudes were not flattering and the youth knew it. Maybe the emphasis on change in the interview prompted youth to relate more substantial shifts, telling of responses with a negative valence that ended up accentuating the positive nature of their

eventual teamwork learning or success. Maybe the non-condemnatory nature of the camp environment (reinforced by having a camp person as interviewer) afforded particular frankness about otherwise socially undesirable responses. Maybe the narrative elicitation opened possibilities for candor.

In analyzing this feature, I saw that this relatively static, cross-sectional concept of the initial response provided important information about the episode, but not necessarily in the form of processual data. Youth's reactions in this scheme do implicate peers as provocateurs, touchy teammates, obstacles, and also good friends and co-workers. These snippets, though, do not give a sense how youth took steps from the initial response into new insights, strategies, rules-of-thumb of teamwork – although the next organizational scheme, based on the process of reasoning in the episode, fleshes out the episodes some and speaks to these shifts. The snapshot of the initial response sets up the scene for the next feature to reveal peers' ongoing role and input in a learning episode.

Nonetheless, there are some implications for agentic processes in learning here. Most of these responses were relayed to me more as impulsive reactions than what could be considered conscious and agentic. With internal processes also frequently beginning negatively, though, an adjustment is likely needed to achieve the teamwork development of the episode. Most of the learning, from the youth's perspective, did not start from neutral or positive impetuses. This suggests that agentic processes for this category would often have included a regulation or modulation of self, to change the direction of a negative response, in relation to peers: a point which I explore in more detail later. Even the few positively framed initial responses did not coextend with the learning that takes place in this episode. That is to say, the learning was more than just an initial positive response, but rather a sustained set of actions or intentions. In fact, initial responses may have served as the basis for further exercise of agency in response to the teamwork situation.

Feature C: Reasoning about peers. In the category of seeing and accommodating Peers as People, I have now reported part of my comparative, within-category analysis organized around two features reflecting singular events from the learning episode: the *episodal impetus* and the learner's *initial response* thereto. For this third feature I compare episodes on the basis of youth reporting a particular reasoning or thinking in each case that ultimately formed a part of their teamwork microdevelopment in that learning episode. I present the variations among this reasoning to enrich the comparative description of episodes in this category. This feature is more processual and spans the chronology of each episode. Several lines of reasoning allowed learners in each episode to realize the parity necessary for progress in their development of collaborative insights, skills, understandings, and strategies. The descriptions of the clusters – 1) getting to know peers, 2) accepting others' imperfections, 3) accustoming to difference, and 4) seeing self in others – often give a sense of both what youth were learning and how so, in addition to

more information about the chronology of microdevelopmental episodes. Each cluster reflects accepting and accommodative thinking on behalf of the learners.

Cluster 1: Getting to know peers. The most prevalent way of reasoning reported by youth indicated that learners developed closeness to and comprehension of their peers through befriending or getting to know them. They often figured out something specific to a particular person they were working with. Marta spoke of how in the Corps, one can “work with [peers] and learn from that,” she reported, “I get a feel for what their-- not their personality, but like their *work* personality ... and in a chaotic environment try to meld to it as best you can.” This knowledge of, as another teen named Thomas put it, “what kind of person they are and how they like to do things” entailed a recognition and acceptance of differences among peers, which disposed youth to work with each other. Several youth gave similar accounts where their accumulated experiences of working with and getting to know peers led them to see value in familiarizing themselves with or befriending co-workers as a collaborative strategy.

Sometimes, youth made less of a general proclamation and their commitment to and valuing of getting to know others was described as more limited to a particular situation. They saw some particularity of a co-worker or their working style that helped the learner understand and work with them. Charlotte noticed that one of her peers refused “gross” tasks or even just pretended to do them. She explained, “if you know that about them, you’re not gonna give them that [job].” Her adjustment based on this knowledge was to give them jobs that they would actually do. Charlotte added that “everything works differently with who you’re with,” emphasizing that being familiar with particular people and acknowledging difference more broadly were important to how she did teamwork successfully in the Corps. In each instance, when learners got to know their teammates, it facilitated the getting along that aided successful teamwork development.

Cluster 2: Accepting others’ imperfections. Similarly, it was also significant to youth when they came to see that their peers were not perfect or that everyone’s diversity (along many dimensions) constituted a meaningful part of teamwork, which required attention. Lindsey extended the benefit of the doubt to her peers who weren’t working, “you can’t blame them because everyone has bad days.” Her insight into peers’ thinking in a related episode enabled this empathic sentiment: “they don’t see it as them not working. They see it as, ‘I shouldn’t have to.’ or ‘I’m tired.’” In another interview, meanwhile, Ben expounded on diversity, saying, “there are always like different people with different personalities who wanna do different things.” This contrasted with his assumptions of the first few days: “At first, I was like, ‘We will all work like this and [then] they’d all be perfect.’” His shift in reasoning allowed him to take the step to “you just gotta accept and go with the flow,” giving up his monolithic ideas of how things would work out and making a commitment to adapt to others. In surpassing annoyance and frustration with teammates, learners saw them more clearly as people, with all the diverse idiosyncrasies

that that entails. Learners' made strides in bearing with others, first through adjusting their understanding and then through accepting peers' imperfections.

Cluster 3: Accustoming to difference. Another way of reasoning within this category included becoming accustomed to differences from the learner and from other peers. Learners did this by working with a peer over time or through the sheer repetition afforded by the Corps' iterative program structure. Sean came to the Corps, met his peers, and thought of some of them: "I just don't think I'm gonna like that kid," but "as time went on and I worked with them more and more. I realized, 'Oh this is not a bad kid; I kind of like him.' ... I've actually found out they're all really good kids." Sean came to be "more open-minded to different people" through his working with and changing way of thinking about peers. Other youth learned not to "judge immediately" (Bailey) or "judge straight away" (Laura) to let the process of opening and acceptance happen. John Wrigley described the habituating aspect of learning teamwork, "we work together so much. You kinda get used to cooperating with others, and trying to build a team." Learners accepted the common lot shared with peers and were able to hold back on negative judgment. By thus accustoming themselves to the differences among their co-workers, youth became better able to work with and understand their peers.

Cluster 4: Seeing self in others. A fourth line of reasoning, also enabling youth to value the humanity of their peers, came out of learners drawing a parallel between a particular teammate and themselves. Seeing their own experience in their peers' situations helped youth cut them some slack and be motivated to work with them. Steven recalled his own experience needing a lot of assistance with a particular job and now makes a point of helping out there whenever he has free time. Lillian recognized "times when I was impatient," but realized this was unhelpful and not worth it by seeing from peers' perspectives: "[I] put myself in their shoes, because it's not fun [with people] frustrated at you. I wouldn't want nobody to be frustrated with me." Her account ties the improvement of her empathic responsiveness with her ability to recall herself in similar positions. Linda, likewise, understood that others "deserve to be heard" when she thought about how she did not "like not being listened to." By connecting peer experiences to their own, youth saw their peers differently than they did initially and they were subsequently able to work with peers sympathetically.

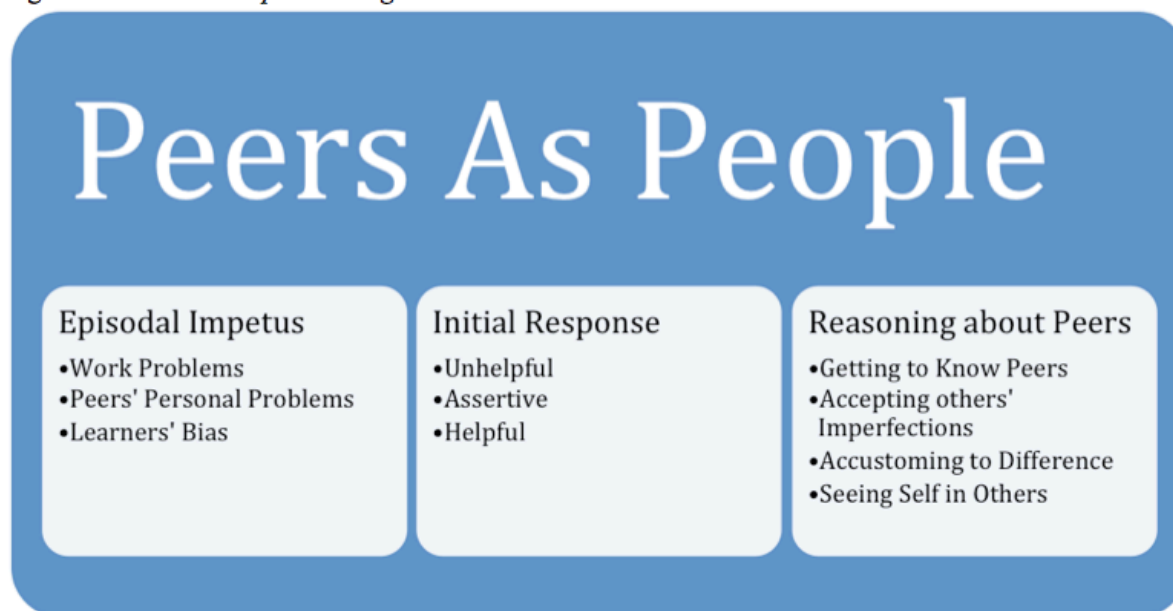
Reasoning and learning. This feature, consisting of youth's reasoning about their peers in learning episodes, was central to understanding the microdevelopment of teamwork in the category of Peers as People. The four clusters showed various ways that youth were coming to understand and accept their co-workers, their peers, as people. In a sense, the feature of reasoning reflected paths or progressions through the episode. The reasoning takes the learner from the episodal impetus, through the initial response, and toward new insights, understandings, orientations, intentions, and strategies that facilitated successful teamwork with peers. Each way of reasoning can also be seen as a method or tool for

sustaining successful teamwork throughout the episode. Youth reasoned in a particular fashion to make sense of and come to terms with the interpersonal dynamics of teamwork. In general, these learners increased their social understanding and actively restrained judgment of peers, which could negatively affect team progress. The reasoning was part of their conscious, agentic learning.

The analysis of the feature of reasoning also disrupted the clean distinction between *what* youth learned about teamwork and *how* they learned it, which I tried to impose upon the data. Some learners reported the way of reasoning as more of an insight or part of their philosophy (i.e. learning *to think* that way), while others reported these reasoning strategies as leading to broader principles for teamwork (i.e. learning *by thinking* that way). For some youth, the reasoning that they applied to the episode comprised a new approach to working together for their collaborative repertoire while others recounted it as a new manifestation of their prosocial values. The constant, here, is that this sort of reasoning about peers as people was important to the learning of teamwork. The reasoning constituted microdevelopmental steps. It was the particular confluence of these steps as learning process, giving rise to learning outcomes, through particular peer stances, then, that unites the episodes into the category labeled Peers as People.

For a review of the findings of the within-category analysis of the Peers as People category, see Figure 8. The three boxes represent the episodal features analyzed and the bulleted lists show the groupings within each feature. I turn next to the descriptive analysis of episodes in the category of Peers as Exemplars.

Figure 8. *Peers as People Findings*



Category II: Peers as Exemplars

In the next portion of the chapter, I present a new framework for the category of Peers as Exemplars. As can be seen and discussed below, the episodes in this category were more complex than those organized around Peers as People. The sequencing of learning, with youth seeing peers as exemplars, was complicated when youth compared more than one example and applied their conclusions to a particular instance of teamwork. I saw that the involvement of multiple peers, moreover, often involved a sort of two-stage modeling wherein a peer (or a group) modeled teamwork and others modeled a way of responding to or dealing with the way particular teammates worked. Youth engaged with peers they knew and peers they did not; they paid careful attention to peers' actions, both subtle and salient. Learners' active deliberation brought the complex of ecology of work in the Clore Corps into relation with youth's initial understanding and abilities regarding teamwork. I attempt to represent some of this complexity in this chapter and return to it in the discussion chapter.

I do not equate the idea of exemplary teamwork with that of peer actions that youth found laudable. Some exemplars typified "bad" teamwork. The youth that I spoke to learned from peers who demonstrated excellent collaborative skills and from others who had poor attitudes or practices that impeded successful cooperation. I explore this idea of *exemplar valence*, displaying positive or negative teamwork, as one of the features below.

Another key characteristic of the episodes in this category was the definitive presence of youth's evaluation of others. In contrast to the restricting or restraining of judgment to see peers as people and ease teamwork, as with the prior category, the episodes in the category of Peers as Exemplars saw youth actively assessing others. By evaluating the exemplars around them, youth considered possibilities for their own teamwork and navigated alternatives for thought and action around collaboration. This evaluation of peers is central to youth seeing them as exemplars.

Since the categories differed in constitution and characteristics, the within-category grounded analysis produced different results. Features prominent in Peer-as-Person narratives were less so in Peer-as-Exemplar ones. The three features profiled in this section include the vicariousness of the learning done from exemplars, the valence of exemplars (e.g. "good" or "bad" teamwork), and the learners' reasoning about exemplars.

Feature A: Vicariousness of learning. The first feature that I examine of the episodes in the Peers as Exemplars category consists of the learner's vicarious distance from the exemplary peer in an episode. By this, I mean the social proximity on the team of a peer's example to the work of the youth who told me the story. The feature was prominent in the analysis of the involvement of exemplars and episodal stances in youth's learning. Learners attended to and drew from youth in other groups and peers interacting with them directly. This feature speaks to the nature of peer involvement in the learning

process and also to the extent of social distance that can be present in an episode that still contributes to learning.

For the purposes of this dissertation, moreover, a simple binary description does not suffice for whether the peers in question modeled exemplary teamwork vicariously or directly. A range of vicarious distance, as significant to the stories told, is displayed in the four clusters below. The clusters are ordinarily arranged, with the learning in the first being most distantly vicarious and successive clusters less so.

Cluster 1: Well-known exemplars. The first cluster that I describe is the most distantly vicarious. These several youth described episodes learning from exemplars that they were not working with or perhaps did not even see.³³ A couple included incidents that were well-known enough in the Corps that youth later discussed what happened once they were out of the kitchen, despite not having been around these exemplars (both “bad examples”). The youth talked with other peers to learn from some of the more public failures to do teamwork well. Similarly, some episodes described instances in which the effects of bad teamwork examples spread through the larger team during a shift. Youth reported episodes where others’ arguing and disagreement vexed the group or made those in proximity work slowly or tiptoe around in the tense environment. The episodes in this cluster were particularly interesting as instances where youth reported drawing teamwork insights from examples that did not involve them directly. The connection between exemplar and learning, though, was clear. Learners described how certain examples were significant to larger groups and how seeing this affected youth’s understandings of team functioning. Moreover, the examples comprising this position were obviously relatable or close enough to these youth, since they reported learning from them in the episode.

Cluster 2: Nearby groups. Also possessing a degree of vicarious distance were the many episodes in which youth learned from observing groups and individuals who were working nearby. Peers, in these episodes, were watched and overheard just by doing their job in close proximity to the learners. Although these were not usually seen as intentional attempts to influence or model skills, the youth who told me these stories reported taking something away from these examples gleaned from the everyday work environment in the Clore Corps.

A few within this cluster showed how youth would sometimes interpret an action against the background of that peer’s habitual style of teamwork. The particulars of the behavior combined with youth’s knowledge of a peer’s conventional conduct in order to understand and learn from their experience with that peer one day. Slim Shady, for instance, related a constitutionally helpful peer’s

³³ These episodes were somewhat distinct from the other episodes, including those in the other category, that entailed direct involvement with peers. However, I have included these episodes in the analysis due to their significance to this organizational scheme and learners’ explicit incorporation of distantly vicarious models in their narratives of learning.

exemplary actions to her learning about how to work within a team. She described how Anne “works well with people because she’s, like, a really nice person. ... I always see her walking around ... she offers to help people out.” Slim Shady saw how people got better at doing that as the Corps members increasingly “know more about what needs to be done. So we know exactly what we have to do.” She interpreted Anne’s characteristics in conjunction with the context of her actions toward her teammates. Other episodes had youth responding to the group dynamics unfolding around them or narrowing in on particular actors doing teamwork. In sum, the exemplars’ actions in these episodes were not as widely known as those in the prior cluster, nor were they closely experienced by the learner; rather, the example happened in social or physical proximity such that it was comprehensible and accessible as a model for the learner.

Cluster 3: *Teammates on shared task.* A third cluster was marked by yet less vicariousness, in that youth in these episodes were learning from peers with whom they were working on a given task. Not learning from secondhand reports nor seeing peers around them working on other tasks, the youth in these episodes experienced more directly the teamwork ramifications of the peers sharing their task assignment. Youth learned from peers’ different ways of approaching interpersonal problems in the working group, from onerous or intractable behavior itself, from co-workers’ characteristic attitudes and temperaments on the job, and from efforts to contribute positively to team efforts. Many episodes constituted this cluster where youth drew from the teamwork models of the peers they were working with. As a point of contrast, youth in the episodes of the first two clusters were (sometimes) able to be more detached, as observed peers’ actions impacted them less directly. With exemplars sharing a task, in contrast, several of these episodes were retold with the visceral emotions from that time more or less intact. The fourth cluster permits even less distance as exemplary actions are directed at the learners themselves.

Cluster 4: *Exemplars handling learners.* A slight contrast nonetheless distinguishes a subset of episodes from the prior cluster, where the learners described themselves as being *handled* by peer exemplars. Several youth humbly reported episodes in which their peers displayed positive and exemplary collaborative skills in the face of inadequate performance from the learners themselves. Even more intimate and less distantly vicarious, the learning in these episodes came out of what was done, not just *with* learners, but *to* them. Because of the exemplars in these assorted episodes, youth came to recognize ways in which they hindered productive teamwork and subsequently learned from their peers treatment of them. Peers’ intercessions into arguments and misunderstandings, constructive criticism of learners’ interactions, and general assistance both helped youth see themselves and see positive models of teamwork skills. This subset of episodes, with models using collaborative finesse on learners, stands in contradistinction to the distantly vicarious first cluster where youth learned secondhand from salient examples within the Corps community.

Learning and vicariousness. This feature of vicariousness serves as a good introduction to the category of Peers as Exemplars, especially transitioning from Peers as People. Vicarious distance, as an attribute of learning, is salient for this category in a different way than it could have been for the other, where it did not emerge as a significant feature. Learning from examples does not require the same closeness in the same way as accepting and accommodating peers as people. This feature, nevertheless, still reflected learning within a certain sphere of nearness. The exemplary people who youth reported learning with and from were only those directly involved with the Corps program (although only peers are reported here, additionally youth said that Corps leaders and cooks in the kitchen, who “told youth what to do,” modeled some skills). When asked how they figured out how to work with others in the Corps, none spoke of older staff at camp as role models for their teamwork in the Corps, although I know that many Corps members looked up to and had relationships with the camp counselors. All exemplary actions, moreover, took place within the context of the Corps program; youth were not drawing directly on teamwork exemplars from school projects or on collaboration with siblings on chores in the home.³⁴ I grant that the framing of the project and of my questions in the interview guide are more likely to elicit examples from Clore Corps peers, as this was indeed my intention. However, given that youth diverged from my intended scope in other interesting ways (especially in bringing up outside comparisons), I find the matter of vicariousness worthy of its analysis here. In sum, the findings suggest that learners were able to take something from peers even without intentional modeling or always the direct experience of working with these exemplars.

Relatedly, one analytic branch, which has since been pruned from this dissertation, concerns the physical and social geography of learning teamwork in the Clore Corps. In the episodes youth described, there were suggestions that the physical proximity, spatial allocation of job areas, and even architectural layout of camp facilities were relevant to learning processes. I bring up these geographical aspects to note their importance and relations to this feature of the vicariousness of learning. Being able to observe other peer groups, from some jobs and not others, afforded the opportunity to learn from the broader team, even when working within a smaller group. Especially on the second most distantly vicarious cluster of this scheme, the learning from nearby groups in many episodes takes advantage of the proximity in perceptual range of the peer exemplars.³⁵ Along with the points in the last paragraph about social distance, this

³⁴ Although, youth *were* able to make comparisons between learning teamwork at camp and in other settings, making such insightful comments as the following from Daniel, “it’s different than school because ... it’s more of a responsibility to everyone else, than it is to yourself.”)

³⁵ As an example of a geographical note of interest, youth reported many episodes of learning from nearby groups from the kitchen where the dishwashers faced the pots and pans sink. These two groups were able to observe the intragroup dynamics of youth whom they did not share a task, as opposed to the bathrooms team that worked away from the majority of the Corps, in the kitchen, for the duration of a meal.

incorporation of physical distance informs my understanding of the closeness that allowed learning to occur vicariously.

A few youth had more things to say about exemplars and modeling in the Corps program and these comments help me round out my thoughts on this feature. Some youth showed understanding of the process of learning from peers serving in the role of some sort of model-to-be-observed for teamwork. Bill preceded a teamwork insight by speaking about the example of peers doing one another a kindness, saying “that’s pretty cool to watch and [it] teaches you.” Quinn, likewise, explicitly extolled the broad benefits of encountering exemplary peers’ teamwork. He explained that “when you work with other people, you end up taking something from them.” Both passages speak to the whole category of Peers as Exemplars, but they also seem to recognize the second and the third clusters (respectively) of this feature: observing nearby peers and teammates on a shared task. This explicit recognition of the learning process on behalf of youth serves as a sort of “member check” of the idea and strengthens the grounded conceptualization of the category (Charmaz, 2014).

Feature B: Exemplar valence. Similar to the episodal impetuses of Peers as People, the episodes in the Peers as Exemplars category revolved around key incidents with peers. Also like impetuses, the teamwork models and exemplars that youth encountered lend themselves to a valenced comparison of their positive or negative nature. Unlike in the prior category, though, this feature analysis is complicated by youth’s reference to multiple exemplars in the learning that is associated with a single episode. Through reference to both valence (positive or negative) and sequence of peer actions within episodes, I describe the nature of peer exemplars in the Corps program. I begin with the clusters of episodes that have simpler or univalent attributions (i.e. “good” or “bad” examples, here called positive and negative) and move to the episodes with youth drawing on exemplars with both positive and negative valences.

Cluster 1: Negative exemplars. Sometimes youth learned what *not* to do from bad examples of teamwork. The first cluster for this feature includes episodes where groups or individuals collaborate in a way that the learners found aversive. Their insights and reactions took teamwork in a different direction from what they encountered among their peers. Daniel put it simply, talking about these negative exemplars, “I’ve learned what *not* to do.” In the episodes of this cluster, youth saw peers detracting from collaborative efforts both in the form of individual exemplars and as negative group exemplars with unfavorable interpersonal dynamics. The view of exemplars at the level of the group looked like immaturity and infighting, being distracted and letting work build up, all wanting their own way and getting mad, insensitivity and overreaction, or wasting time with arguing. The one-sided, individual detractions, on the other hand, involved peers’ constant negativity, frustration and exasperation, “screwing around,” harboring of grudges, and general unkindness. Both individual and group examples

served as foils by which youth shaped their own collaborative practices, identities, beliefs, and strategies in contradistinction.

Cluster 2: Positive exemplars. The next set of episodes differs from the first as a cluster of positive exemplars. Youth here reported learning from the good teamwork of their peers. They told me of times in which they were able to draw upon exemplars they deemed to be more facilitative of fruitful collaboration. Laura's comment, upon seeing how others were working together, captured one such sentiment, "You just watch them. Like, it's easier to picture, 'OK, I can do that,' or, 'I can work like that.'" Like the negative exemplar episodes, this cluster also had group and individual subtypes. Observed positive group dynamics served as examples for teamwork: youth observed particular groups and saw "how well they work together" (Laura) and watched peers "just balanc[ing] strengths off of each other" (Dr. Seuss). These groups and their work were examples youth drew on holistically. Positive individual exemplars, meanwhile, did good teamwork mainly by endeavoring to help peers out, "work[ing] hard for everyone" (Daniel), and putting forth a lot of effort to finish tasks (i.e. so that everyone can complete their work in the kitchen). These examples of individuals shared the similarity of a peer working hard for the benefit of others, usually on jobs that were assigned to others. This narrow definition of a self-sacrificing positive example contrasted with the various ways that individual negative exemplars modeled teamwork.

Nonetheless, a little more variety appears in the other half of episodes on this positive position. My comment on this subset relates it to the previous feature of vicarious distance, specifically, the subset of the least-vicarious episodes that involved youth being "handled" by their peers. These were all also episodes with positive exemplars and I consider the same grouping of episodes to be a distinct subset of this cluster with regard to the feature of exemplar valence. The positive input directly to the learner, then, included coaching to help the learner cool down, gently pointing out one's (negative) effect on the team, pushing the learner to keep working, helping out without being asked, intervening to get both teammates their way, and advising on how to work with a particular peer. Implicit in these accounts and explicit in a few, these youth saw examples at two distinct levels. The first was at the level of direct influence on the learner's behavior. Youth saw the good teamwork in what their peers did and advised. The second was a higher-level recognition, in that youth learned from the example of *how* their peers handled *them*. The exemplary behavior in these episodes was twofold: good teamwork advice and good delivery of that advice by skillful intervention, mediation, or guidance.

This added complexity leads well into the next cluster, which includes the episodes with more than just a simple negative or positive exemplar. In addition to reporting peers with exemplary behavior, the youth below noted exemplary responses to others' modeling of teamwork.

Cluster 3: Multivalent exemplars. These multivalent examples of teamwork included episodes where learners availed themselves of both positive and negative exemplars. Youth learned through the

examples of both types and let the positive and the negative shape their teamwork, although not in the same ways.

Youth in a few episodes formed a subset within the cluster by describing a positive and a negative example in parallel. Each exemplar was evaluated, one positively and one negatively, on some team action – actions ranging from their kindness toward teammates, their (un)pretentiousness, their amenability to others' ideas, their ability to let "issues" go, to their emotional management in the team environment. One example in an episode was described in terms of its productive or prosocial teamwork functionality; the other received contrasting treatment. An episode with Marta related a contrast between a peer she lauds who "knows arguing would be pointless. And that it's about getting it done and not how you get it done" and other people, for whom she showed disdain, that, when "pay attention to them you can see that it affects their work, it makes them not work as hard because they're sitting there holding a grudge." These examples reflect opposite valences for Marta: one admirably forgoes arguing, while the others hold a grudge. Her analysis of how their attitudes and actions affected the team's work and progress helped her express her evaluations of them as parallel exemplars.

In contrast to the prior subset where youth made the connection between parallel exemplars in their heads, the next several episodes in this cluster contained exemplars interacting and responding to one another in person. Each episode comprised a negative exemplar and then a positive exemplar responding to the former. Both were subjected to the evaluation and analysis of learners. The negative exemplars in this subset of multivalent episodes did teamwork in ways similar to their univalent, negative-exemplar counterparts. There were groups not getting along and working slowly, everyone on a task "doing their different own thing" and making it "all crazy," and getting into arguments. Individuals left a peer alone on their job, being "really rude," and getting visibly and publicly frustrated. The youth expressed disinclination toward these models of teamwork.

The positive exemplars, who interacted here with particular negative exemplars, resembled the prior subset of peers handling the learner, rather than the more general grouping that tended more to helping others broadly. These positive exemplars dealt with the situations created by the negative exemplars' bad examples. The learners appreciated the positive example of some peers who sought to understand and empathize with the negative exemplars. Similarly, youth discussed exemplars amongst themselves and recognized when someone graciously offered alternative or ameliorating explanations of a negative exemplar's actions. Other positive responses included telling everyone what needed to be done (and though that "may seem bossy, it's like needed, it's required" [Bob the Builder]), stepping in and helping without being asked, being "amazing" at acceptance and understanding, and just generally giving one another the benefit of the doubt. One group turned negative teamwork around when one member, the positive exemplar, halted their argument and sought external mediation, to the admiration of the learner

who reported this. In sum, the descriptions of these multivalent exemplars reflected learners' nuanced observation of teamwork dynamics and an impressive ability to draw on a variety of examples in one's learning.

Exemplars and learning. A few points about this feature as a whole start to give a better sense of its significance and its relation to learning processes. For one thing, I did not find any examples of *ambiguous* exemplars. Youth were pretty clear about indicating a generally positive or generally negative appraisal of a peer in a particular episode. In fact, upon revisiting the data, I did not find instances where the same peer's teamwork is evaluated in different lights by the same interviewee, even across the whole conversation. They did describe negative work with factors mitigating the unfavorable evaluation (e.g. personal history or a comprehensible personality type), but rarely would they give the sense of ambiguity for actions' contribution to teamwork or give a more nuanced view of a particular example. While their evaluation and learning processes were complex (see the next feature), youth used negative terms or positive terms to describe a particular action or sequence of events in an episode. It was the different actors that were attributed different valences in the multivalent episodes. The set of exemplars, then, was bisected by valence, even though episodes included multiple exemplars and were not so simply split.

The temporal boundaries of an episode also was complicated by this feature of valence. While at least one of the exemplary peers in each episode was serving as a model *at the time of* the episode, sometimes youth drew on other examples from prior tasks or days (although always from their time in the Corps program, in order to qualify for inclusion as an episode). This complication reflected how considering episodes as units of analysis nevertheless did take me out of the strict temporal boundaries of a linear sequence of events. I speak of episodes as more or less discrete events wherein the microdevelopment of teamwork occurs. Youth's narratives, though, were not bound by the same rigid logic, much less were the constitutive learning processes.

Feature C: Reasoning about the exemplar. The episodes of the Peers as Exemplars category have now been analyzed according to two features: the vicarious distance from exemplars and the valence of exemplars' teamwork models. Those features represented particular descriptive details of the episodes of the category of Peers as Exemplars, which was characterized by youth evaluating and learning from exemplary collaborative behavior. For this third feature, my analysis of variation among episodes recognizes youth's reasoning about the exemplars. I formulated the feature of reasoning around youth's understanding of the exemplar and on the learner's own thinking about teamwork.³⁶ The reasoning in these episodes facilitated youth's coming to novel rules-of-thumb, social insights, planned strategies, and

³⁶ This is similar to how the final feature from the prior category highlighted how learners came to reason about their peers as people in each episode.

new collaborative intentions. Each cluster represents one process by which youth thought about and made use of exemplars as part of their learning.

This feature also clearly relates to the prior one, model valence. Several clusters below contain episodes only from a single univalent cluster above. How youth's reasoning about the exemplar connected to the exemplar's valence is explored below.

Cluster 1: Spurn. The first cluster for this feature consisted of episodes wherein youth spurned negative models and exemplars. Referencing the exact faults of their peers, these youth said things like "I learned what *not* to do" (Daniel). Each made it clear that they were rejecting the exemplar as a non-option for how they would do teamwork. They saw the negative effect on the team, like Jesse did with a peer being a "nuisance" and making teammates "pissed off" with his discourteous manner. Elsilä Pakala, similarly, watched as peers messed around and their work "piled up," keeping the whole group from being able to finish and "go back and rest." Mortimer dismissed a peer who took joking too far with the self-evident reasoning of "I mean, there's kids here!" Each time youth made clear that they did not consider what their peers did to be good or productive teamwork.

Cluster 2: Invert. Another cluster of episodes involved youth rejecting the exemplar, like spurning above, but with learners also proposing a clearer opposite action that they *did* endorse. Jesse responded to an eye-rolling, frustrated peer with the determination "when you have other people, you have to like deal with a bunch of different opinions and stuff like that." Even though the eye-rolling peer could not "deal with" others' opinions, Jesse decided that, for his own teamwork, "I just have to deal with other people." Slim Shady performed a similar inversion of a peer's example in her assertion that "I will accept help if I know I need it." This was a response to being paired with a partner who turned away assistance on a job that they had never done before, even though they "were having kind of a rough time doing it." Stephanie, meanwhile, was irked when a situation between two coworkers' "got way out of proportion" and "it was over the stupidest thing ever;" and, in a separate episode, she was incredulous that other peers would "still complain about something" long after the situation had passed. Her response applied to what she saw as the problem in both these incidents: she said, "I think that made me realize, you have to be able to just let it go" or else "you're going to get so stressed out and so overwhelmed that you're going to end up breaking down." Her foresight of the consequences of the ways her peers were doing things got her to the point where she knew to try a different and opposing tack. While similar to the simple spurning of the first cluster, it was a further step in youth's reasoning when they came up with an antithetical action and espoused it.

Cluster 3: Approve. I move next to ways in which youth reasoned or thought about teamwork with positive exemplars. This cluster constituted the largest grouping of episodes for the feature of reasoning. Learners in these episodes approved of and showed favor for the actions of people modeling

good or productive teamwork. Sloane was frustrated with having to do someone else's job. Then, her teammate put forward a counter-perspective, "I don't even care [who is supposed to be doing this], I just want to get out of the kitchen."³⁷ Sloane appreciated that sentiment, reflecting, "that's a good way of thinking." Aurora, in like fashion, noted with awe as a peer stopped an argument she was involved in and sought mediation for the dispute; Aurora thought, "that was really cool." Others accepted their peers' advice around and intervention into their teamwork. Learners saw how peers' actions dovetailed with group goals when they "help me get along" (Kevin) or even when someone "may seem bossy, but it's needed" (Bob the Builder). Several youth valued unsought assistance in their work and constructive criticism from thoughtful co-workers. These affirmative and often laudatory reports of peer exemplars reflected the culmination of these episodes, wherein youth attended to, evaluated, and approved of the way their peers worked with others.

Cluster 4: Strive. Several episodes clustered around reasoning that involved, not just approving, but also striving in the direction of teamwork modeled by positive exemplars. Each of these was geared less toward particular exemplary actions and more toward learners' general perception of an exemplar. Some youth, for instance, sought to work toward a person's disposition or habits of teamwork. Daniel tried "to be more like" Nathan because "he worked hard for everyone." Mortimer commented on how a friend acted with the other Corps members and asserted, "I can use that to my benefit: to like be nice and encouraging off his niceness and encouragement." In this set of episodes, youth aimed for the qualities or characteristic teamwork style of people they were working with.

A few episodes in this cluster did not foreground individual exemplars. Instead, youth described a set of group dynamics more holistically and strove to achieve the standard of teamwork that they observed when working with their own peers, or to have the same sort of positive effect on their teammates. Dr. Seuss took note of a group working well together and saw how he could work faster when "you can just kind of balance your strengths off of each other." As with the other episodes in this cluster, Dr. Seuss set his own sights on this positive example of teamwork he encountered. In this cluster, youth's reasoning about individuals and peers included active striving for the positive exemplars of their peers.

Cluster 5: Re-Strategize. This next cluster encompasses episodes with both (univalent) negative and positive exemplars. The learners came to an understanding of the models, but went beyond the exemplar into a cognitive re-strategizing of their own teamwork. With this idea of re-strategizing leaving more room for the creative capacity of adolescents, there was more variety in the directions that youth took their learning here. This cluster contained the most diversity in reasoning.

³⁷ This peer statement is from Sloane's retelling and is unlikely a representation of the peer's exact words, nor do I think it was it intended to be. Rather, as much of the "reported speech" in these interviews tended to do, the "quote" represents the speaker's interpretation of an attitude.

Re-strategizing around negative exemplars. I begin with the subset of episodes featuring youth's re-strategizing around negative exemplars. Learners' reasoning here resembled spurning or inverting, but instead used peer examples as springboards for further cogitation. Bill's peers were not cooperating and were frustrating one another. For them to be more successful in their collaboration, Bill made note that they "can't try to control everything about it, otherwise people won't really want to listen to you. So, you have to like try to work *with* the people, instead of have them work *for* you." His insight was related to the situation where peers were "getting pretty mad at each other," but he re-strategized. He went beyond a mere inversion by theorizing the problem (trying "to control") and developing an aphoristic principle for parity within cooperative efforts ("work *with* the people").

Jenna, in similar fashion, began her re-strategizing by first rejecting her coworkers' conflict (mis)management. Jenna disparaged their overreactions with the assertion that "you can't take comments like that too personally, because they would say it to anyone." Her shrewd re-strategizing advocated learning to do that "just by watching other people who do that ... Just like following other people's example [of not taking things personally]." This recommendation extends beyond the circumstances of her peers' conflict, hypothesizes a fix, and how she could work toward that solution. Yet others re-strategized by attributing negative teamwork to their peers' dispositions and positioning their own nature in contrast. In rejecting certain dispositional characteristics, these youth thought of personalized strategies for their own styles of teamwork. This re-strategizing around negative exemplars shared actions with youth's treatment of negative exemplars in other clusters, but went further in taking their learning beyond the exemplars.

Re-strategizing around positive exemplars. The second part of this cluster turns to the positive exemplars. The learners here approved of good models of teamwork and used these as a springboard for re-strategizing or re-theorizing teamwork. A story of Brad's was a strong illustration of this. His peers "slowly pointed out and helped [him]" see how he was making "a big mess that was an inconvenience to others." Brad ended up turning this patient teaching that he received from his peers into an opportunity for further reflection and change. In our retrospective interview, Brad noted how he "started conforming and listening" because he saw the need to do so from the way his peers intervened and helped him. He even saw changes in how he interacted with his family arising out of this episode: "Now I notice when I go home, instead of just sitting around, I ask my Mom what I can do and what needs to be done. And I do things by myself." By hearing what his peers said and how they said it, Brad went on to re-theorize how he did teamwork and collaboration, even among his family.

The other episodes in this cluster with youth re-strategizing around positive exemplars also had youth going beyond the examples set by peers. One learner, for instance, spoke of the value of collaborative efforts and not trying to do it all yourself, strategies which he discerned and constructed

from a teammate helping others without asking (Steven). In sum, this cluster involved taking one's thinking about either a negative or a positive exemplar and re-strategizing in a prosocial, productive teamwork direction. Youth cultivated insights and efforts that went beyond what is immediately suggested by their peer examples.

Reasoning and learning. A commonality among the reasoning youth did was their active and inventive use of particular ways of reasoning. Like the reasoning in the Peers as People category, these ways of thinking brought youth through the learning episode. Seeing each cluster as a method or tool, I thought of these ways of reasoning as reflecting active efforts toward teamwork.

I give here two further examples in which youth actively integrate multiple methods in order to highlight the synthetic nature of the processes. These episodes saw youth comparing exemplars and combining the actions of other clusters to make meaning from exemplars. A story from Denise provided one example of this combination of reasoning methods. Her first action was approving of peers who were willing to accept each other's way of doing the job. Denise compared that with the common occurrence "of it all being about like how you want to do it and the things that you think are right." Her re-strategizing tied together elements of each these examples. First, Denise admitted she was "sometimes really stubborn with the idea [she had]," like people thinking their way was always right. On the other hand, she concluded "you have to be more open to other peoples' ideas" and appreciated that, in the Corps, "you get to learn how other people's ideas, how everyone else thinks is the best way." Denise had combined the initial exemplar comparison with approving of the positive example and re-theorizing her idea of teamwork.

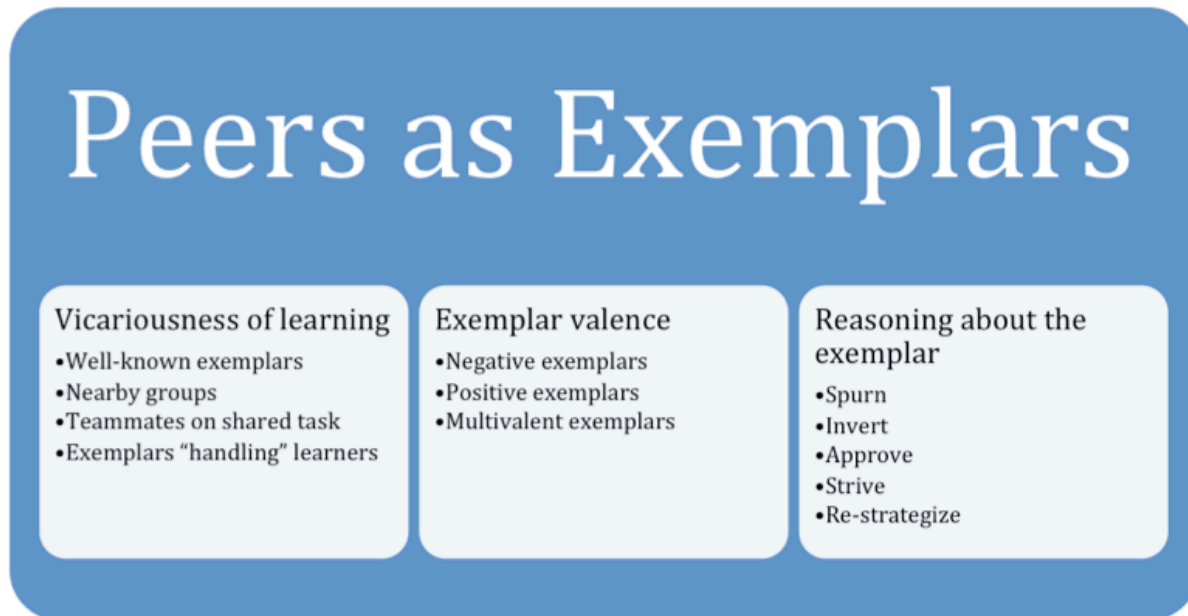
Trent, meanwhile, contrasted Helen, who was "just nice to everyone," with an unnamed peer who could be "not nice" and "thinks he's somewhat better than other people." Working through his own annoyance, he re-strategized toward "see[ing] from other people's faults or your faults ... and how to improve it next time" and to "stay positive." Trent's story also had a similar element of introspection (to Denise's insight about her own stubbornness) in his reasoning: the episode included the realization that "That's always been one of my faults is I'm very, very sarcastic and it kind of puts people down." Like other learners, though, he ended on a positive note: "Try to be nice." Both Trent and Denise compared positive and negative exemplars in a process of inventively re-theorizing the way they did teamwork. The learners in this cluster made use of multiple exemplars for a process of comparison, combined with other ways of reasoning that guided their learning about teamwork.

In sum, my findings for this episodal feature reflected the various inventive ways that youth reasoned about peer exemplars. Patterns of spurning, inverting, approving, striving, and re-strategizing (including combinations thereof) typified the active manner in which teens in the Clore Corps reworked

“input” from peer exemplars into their own teamwork. This feature brings my comparative description of episodes and their features to a close.

Figure 9 summarizes the analysis of this analytic category. Each of the three episodal features fills a box in the image. The bulleted lists show the variation of episodes for each feature.

Figure 9. *Peers as Exemplars Findings*



Supplemental Findings

A final set of findings is related to the categorization process and within-category analysis. The prior sections of this chapter grouped episodes both in categories (i.e. Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars) and in clusters (e.g. negative exemplar valence) based on a similarity by episodal feature. This sorting of episodes allows for the examination of any patterning for how episodes cluster. The well-documented nature of gender differences in group process make an analysis by gender a relevant concern (Maccoby, 2002).

I examined the frequency of each classification to see if they differed by youth’s gender. No differences were clear between categories. Comparable numbers of male and female youth had episodes in each analytic category (and in both). This suggests that gender was not important to how youth reported (or experienced) particular stances toward their peers in learning. Furthermore, the fact that ten females and seven males had episodes in both categories indicates that youth can and do learn from both stances: Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars.

On the other hand, a closer look at the clusters within each category suggests some trends by gender. Most clusters showed no discernible difference by gender of youth, but a couple did. Within the

Peers as People category, all five youth describing an episodal impetus as peers' personal problems were female. Many interpretations are possible. Girls in the program could have been more likely to encounter situations where peers problems come in the form of negative emotional displays or uncooperativeness (and then learn from it). Alternatively, girls could have been more likely to attribute problems in a way that places the onus on peers' negative emotionality or uncooperative behavior (i.e. personal problems). The data, though, were not collected in a way that allows me to favor either interpretation.

Regarding the Peers as Exemplars category, there were differences for the cluster of nearest vicariousness. There was a gender difference in youth reports of being "handled" by peers. Six of the seven youth reporting that they learned from their peers using collaborative skills to work with *them*, the learners, were male. Although these numbers would likely not hold up to scrutiny in terms of statistical significance, they are of possible theoretical interest. Like the last gender pattern, this trend is open to multiple interpretations. Boys could be more likely to be handled, more likely to report the experience, or more likely to have that type of experience lead to learning. Unfortunately, neither the data collected nor existing theoretical work have much to contribute in terms of explaining this phenomenon. Nevertheless, this subset of findings suggests possible inroads for further exploratory study of gender in microdevelopmental processes. The next chapter surveys, expands, and connects the ideas from my findings, across analytic categories.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Youth programs and camps are promising sites for the development of critical skills in the 21st century. In a society that provides inadequate venues for communal or collaborative engagement, summer camps offer unique opportunities (Vrooman, 2007). My project is premised on this idea and asks how youth accomplish teamwork microdevelopment in the Clore Corps.

The Clore Corps program, moreover, afforded the particular experiences reported in the findings. The relatively short-duration, high-intensity nature of the residential camp program framed the Corps members' time at camp. The simple nature of tasks in the Clore Corps and the lack of responsibility for campers allowed participants to engage with and learn from their peers in ways that other roles at Camp Clore did not permit. The randomized scheduling, in similar fashion, contributed to the variety of learning processes in the prior chapter by setting youth to work with the diversity of people in the Corps. Finally, I postulate the mentorship of Corps leaders in the supportive, prosocial context of Camp Clore to have been beneficial to the success of Corps members in developing teamwork skills.

My use of grounded theory methods, to begin with, facilitated working from youth's narrative data to consider peers' role in positive microdevelopment. In-depth, semi-structured interviews elaborated the accounts of conscious developmental processes, from which I analyzed the patterns in the findings chapter.

The findings here illuminate the agentic and constructive peer processes that the Corps participants described. Constructive peer processes thrive among a prosocial peer group, where adolescents experience connection, cooperation, and collaboration (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005). In addition to the learning about relating to others, the opportunity for youth to exercise their skills for agency and consciously produce their own development encompasses agentic processes (Larson, 2000; Larson & Angus, 2011). Depictions of how these sets of processes are integrated in youth's learning are presented in the discussion below.

My overarching interest in this project is the question of how youth learn teamwork. The prior chapter presented a comparative description of episodes comprising microdevelopmental teamwork processes at a residential summer camp. The within-category analysis underlying my results described variety among teamwork microdevelopment episodes in the service-oriented Clore Corps program. The findings, highlighting the roles of agency and peers, illustrated the rich diversity of ways that youth learn teamwork, based on youth's own accounts. The analysis gave a sense of the basic processes and relations that constitute the sorts of episode in each category: Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars. The findings gave clarity to episodes' sequencing and to the extent to which learning processes vary or are similar across cases. In this chapter, I discuss the contributions and significance of the findings, including their relation to the field and to extant literature. Beginning with a comment on what youth learned, I turn next

to the main results by category, then to cross-cutting themes that I identified, and finally to implications and conclusions.

What Youth Learned

While my analysis focused on the microdevelopmental processes of learning teamwork – the how-learned – the interviews also gave a sense of what it was youth were learning. Segments of narrative data often indicated the direction or destination of a learning episode. Indeed, I saw patterns in youth's stories that supported a macrodevelopmental progression toward prosociality. The outcomes of Corps youth's teamwork learning experiences progressed toward relatively more *we-ness*. Prior theorists gave pithy appellations to the teamwork development they saw in youth programs, from Kirshner's (2009) *atomism to collective agency*, to Deutsch's (2007) *island to archipelago*, and Larson's (2007) *from 'I' to 'we.'* If I were to add my own, I would say that youth learned to *put the team in teamwork*. I would emphasize how, coming in, teens at camp were able to focus on their assigned tasks (they could do the job), but got much better at incorporating the interpersonal elements of the program through learning episodes. Participants gained the ability to work interdependently, and not just in parallel. This happened to an extent in the Clore Corps that did not happen elsewhere – even for youth who had similar team experiences at their jobs, in their youth groups, on soccer teams, or for school projects. A major outcome I saw in the positive development of the Corps members was learning to put the team in teamwork.

Main Results about How Youth Learned

This project uncovered a number of findings about the processes through which youth learned. From these the following grounded theorizing originates. Here I outline the most meaningful theoretical results. I discuss the results by category, before turning to the comparative insights that arose out of their juxtaposition.

Category I: Peers as people. The processes in the Peers as People category were rooted in a sense of mutuality. The mutuality of peer processes was evident in youth's accounts, described in the prior chapter. These peer processes recall the way that Piaget theorized agemates contributing to one another's development. This similarity was seen especially in youth's accommodation and acceptance of their peers. In the Clore Corps, for example, learners recognized, the human qualities of their coworkers. The quotations from teenagers illustrate the sort of reasoning that goes along with the realization of parity among youth. A key part of this involved the idea of judging others. A prominent social process that youth described was restraining unproductive or judgmental impulses with others – respecting their personhood.

Youth seeing peers as people was a pivotal motivation for the accommodating and accepting in these learning episodes. Common comparisons in the Peers as People accounts saw peers as human beings, like everyone, or people “like me” (the learner). This basis for acceptance and accommodation

mitigated peers' negative attitudes and behaviors in the mind of the learner. Learners had to get past the fact that their peers did not always act in a way that made work easier for *learners*. Youth's methods of reasoning about their coworkers in the Peers as People category exemplified ways of coming to accept or directly accommodate peers on the team. Charlotte knew that "everything works differently with who you're with," so came to terms with giving a different job to the teammate who only pretended to "gross" ones. The actions of getting to know, accepting, accustoming, and recognizing fundamental similarities in peers all worked to humanize them. Seeing peers as people pulled learners into tolerant acceptance and accommodation of teammates' idiosyncratic ways of being.

The early restraint of judgment allowed youth to turn to more positive responses, including the aforementioned acceptance and accommodation. Seeing their peers as people, youth were able to consciously check themselves. By taking a more understanding outlook, youth ultimately overlooked faults, flaws, and foibles, despite their aggravating nature. Moreover, youth actively endeavored toward this forbearance. The progress toward mutuality involved more than passive realization of equality or simply granting the benefit of the doubt. Learners needed to come to new comprehensions of peers and their actions to overcome the dismissiveness, the emotional reactivity, and the impatience of working across difference. The reasoning tools youth used, from accepting imperfections to seeing themselves in others, were enabled by the initial restraint of judgment and seeing peers as people. Bailey had "gotten better" and no longer would "judge immediately," but accepted his peers upon the principle that "there's difference, there's like diversity; it has to agree somehow." In sum, actively restraining judgment let youth recognize their peers as people and achieve mutuality through accepting and accommodating.

Youth's teamwork microdevelopment was both reinforced by and reinforcing of their stance of accommodation and acceptance. Youth were able to try out skills, attitudes, and strategies for comprehending others by increasingly accommodating and accepting their peers as people. Youth endeavored to maintain this stance despite particular disfavored actions on behalf of their peers (as seen with the negative episodal impetuses). Kyle sought to "figure it out" with the peer who was "not even listening." She learned about the peer and his circumstances until it was "so much easier to work together." Youth's initial responses revealed that a learner's first reflex was not always (or even often) acceptance and accommodation. Unhelpful and decidedly unproductive responses included hostile emotions and confrontations, which needed to be ameliorated for prosocial progress to be made. As described above, ineffectual impulses needed restraining. On the occasions that a more productive, accommodating initial response was reported, youth still had to work to sustain or tailor their positive standpoint to achieve shared goals. In each episode of this category, youth became more accepting and accommodating and reported this as the microdevelopment that they saw in themselves.

Category II: Peers as exemplars. The processes youth described in the Peers as Exemplars category cohered around learners' evaluation of peers' examples of teamwork. Youth actively made use of the raw material of peers' actions to inform their own collaborative repertoire. These learning processes encompass different social distances (vicariousness) and exemplar valences (good and bad models), as youth drew from a variety of resources.

Making use of peers' examples necessitated the evaluation of what other Corps members were doing and saying. Learners drew on positive and negative exemplars; weighing, assessing, and incorporating elements of their peers' behavior for their own benefit. Whether or not peers knew the learner was observing them, youth evaluated these actions in the context of team functioning. Youth's active attention was evidenced by their interpretations of nuanced interpersonal dynamics. For instance, Stephanie observed her peers and realized "you have to be able to just let it go." She interpreted an argument between coworkers as going from "stressed out" to "so overwhelmed" to "breaking down," since they did not "just let it go." This attribution of causality to the sequence of events and Stephanie's negative evaluation reflected her careful observation and consideration. Learners' evaluations also spanned complicated temporalities: employing peers' habitual dispositions for teamwork, past examples of collaboration in the Corps, and hypothetical potentialities for the group. Evaluation enabled youth to make decisions about what teamwork strategies they were learning, what strategies they wanted to retain for future use.

The evaluative processes stimulated learner's imaginative generation of skills, attitudes, insights, and principles of teamwork. This resourceful and innovative aspect in youth's use of peer input in learning is important to how I conceptualize development in this dissertation. Whereas earlier prominent theories may emphasize the *generation of rules* for behavior, – cf. Bandura's observational learning (1986, 1989) – mine is a more agentic theorization of learning. Furthermore, my analysis of how youth extended and elaborated peer input in developmental experiences shows agency in action. The descriptions in the findings chapter give examples of the sorts of experiences youth draw on and the learning they take from particular learning situations with peers. This analysis illustrates how "human agency operates generatively and proactively" (Bandura, 2002, p. 278), a more recent psychological way of seeing agency. Examples of the creative agency of youth constitute a contribution of my dissertation.

The creativity in exemplar evaluation was prominent in many episodes. Youth's appraisals of peer actions and attitudes served as fodder for inventive reuse in youth's own collaborative efforts. They worked from peer examples, at various social distances of vicariousness, to set a course for their teamwork: away from some exemplars, more toward others. In the findings chapter, youth moved away from working in ways that inconvenienced peers, being immature, taking jokes "too far," excessive complaining, slowing down the team, and using "bad types of communication" like ignoring or making

fun. Conversely, they worked toward cooperating efficiently on a job, reframing thinking of peers more positively, being helpful, letting others know what needed to be done, and accepting others. This evaluation in light of their own goals and values, then, facilitated youth in making their teamwork skills progress in a personalized direction.

Comparison of the categories. Next, I make a brief comparison of the categories in this project. The juxtaposition of the compelling results from each category highlights two key processes in youth's learning. Here I cover a key contrast between episodes from Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars.

The most salient difference between episodes in the Peers as People and the Peers as Exemplars categories was their differential orientation toward evaluation and judgment. To approach a peer as a person, youth needed to restrain judgment of teammates, whereas to take a peer as an exemplar for oneself, youth evaluated them. The evaluation and judgment in these two types of episodes, though, were not exactly parallel. The judgment restrained in Peers as People episodes was not the same as evaluation of Peers as Exemplars ones. In the case of accepting peers as people, youth rejected unfounded prejudice, forgave common faults, and tolerated mistakes they could identify with. Learners exercised this restraint in order to be able to continue their work with peers. On the other hand, the evaluation of Peers as Exemplars often was less immediately instrumental. Youth were not restraining anything; they were not coping with negative peers to get through a situation. Rather, evaluation (of peers as exemplars) helped them set their own direction for learning teamwork. Restraining judgment among peers as people also led to new understandings and skills for teamwork, but were aimed at improving a particular, immediate situation. Evaluation of exemplars was part of everyday Corps work, but in learning episodes youth reported fewer instantaneous benefits and their prosociality was oriented toward the future with new intentions or strategies.

In conclusion, the concepts of judgment and evaluation were similar in their appraisal, but they differ as used to describe processes among youth. Restraint (of judgment) served to resolve an immediate interpersonal situation, while evaluation intended to increase understanding and build youth's collaborative repertoire for future teamwork. For Corps members, restraining judgment of peers as people and evaluating peers as exemplars were dissimilar in immediacy and effect.

Major Themes

Next I trace the major themes that transcend the categories and the findings of the project as a whole. This allows me to take a step back and consider all that I have seen in light of the question of how youth accomplish teamwork microdevelopment. The first theme concerns the place of *negative* events, emotions, and peer contributions in positive development. The second examines the creativity and strategy that youth employed to set the course of their own developmental experiences. Although I distinguish these two themes in discussion, I do not see them as discrete or separable from each other or

from the data from which they emerge. Rather, they are hallmarks of adolescent development, constitutive of the learning processes I saw among the youth in the Clore Corps.

Theme 1: The negative in the positive. For the first theme, I discuss the presence of what I am calling negative, or challenging-to-teamwork, circumstances in the constructive peer processes that constituted microdevelopment. The negative in the positive is an important consideration in situating my study in relation to the field of youth development. I begin by explaining how I theorize the negative, before discussing what youth do about it.

The valenced episodal features of impetuses, initial responses, and peer exemplars spotlight the negative in the positive, with regard to learning episodes. As I have mentioned, things that youth saw impeding successful collaboration as they were working were not as straightforwardly deleterious as they might seem in isolation. The negative is, moreover, integral to learning teamwork, which is perhaps an uncontroversial proposition. For youth in the Clore Corps, the negative events that were most significant to their learning included conditions deemed not conducive to teamwork, from their own emotions or cognitions to peer actions. Learning processes in episodes most often revolved around the teamwork trials and tribulations that youth causally attributed to the challenging behaviors of their co-workers. For the Peers as People category, for example, many episodes centered on an impetus of problems in peers' work quality or style. Among the Peers as Exemplars episodes, too, "bad models" of teamwork did things that slowed the group's work, that created difficulties for others, or that generally detracted from prosociality and team progress. In addition to these examples, youth also recognized their own thoughts and feelings could serve as further stumbling blocks for successful collaboration. The prevalence of the negative aroused emotions and often elicited a response from learners. I next consider how they handled the negative in the positive, especially within the atmosphere of the Clore Corps.

Making use of the negative in the positive was central to youth's management of negative emotions, which could impede learning processes. Rusk et al. (2013) have shown how youth in programs develop skills for identifying and managing strong emotions that occur in program work. The learners in the Peers as People category – citing positive program culture, task goals, or their own values and interpersonal styles; amongst other motivations – made use of strategies including emotion suppression, reflection, and coming up with a constructive response to the feelings they encountered in the course of their teamwork. Furthermore, by continuing to coordinate efforts over their work, learners actively prevented emotions from derailing the acceptance and accommodation they eventually achieved in the episode. Even after the challenging episodal impetuses that youth reported and their frequently negative emotional responses, youth handled their emotions, allowing them to engage in the subsequent processes through which they learned teamwork.

To reiterate, microdevelopment in cross section did not always look positive, per se, although I call the processes that I have documented prosocial and constructive. By my description, the episodes paint a picture of positive progression at the macrodevelopmental level. Emotions such as anger or frustration and interactions characterized by conflict were common in youth narratives, but these did not doom learning. Rather, I see negative events and emotions as possible springboards for learning, catalysts for change, or opportunities to develop skills. Clore Corps members used emotional management skills in the face of challenging peers. In my interviews, youth relayed narratives in which the negative led to the positive. Youth altered their reasoning to overcome unproductive thinking. Youth managed potentially disruptive emotions to sustain collaborative efforts. Youth made cognitive resources of the negative exemplars and situations; contrasting, rebuking, and reinventing from bad role models and challenging peer behaviors. Learning from the negative in the positive helped youth put the team in teamwork.

I believe that the peer-oriented setting of the Clore Corps facilitated youth's use of the negative toward pro-teamwork goals. This speculation that the program context, including the developing group culture among youth, was important in helping the negative become positive is supported by other research. Larson and colleagues' work in project-based after-school programs has spoken to program culture and adult leaders as contributing to prosocial learning outcomes. What Larson et al. (2012) describe as group norms and "conditions of equality, cooperation, and common purpose" fits with my observations of and experiences with the Clore Corps program. Similarly, my prior work highlighted the role of supportive adults in promoting constructive peer processes among youth themselves (Perry, 2015). Similar to Larson's (2007) *intentionality paradox*, Corps leaders sought to intentionally support development, but did so in a way that allowed for youth agency and for constructive peer processes to unfold. On the whole, my interviews with the Corps participants suggested that developmental experiences with teamwork, including both positive and negative elements, helped youth become more other-focused, team-attuned, and prosocial. To accomplish this, youth exercised both creativity and strategy.

Theme 2: Creativity and strategy. The second theme across the breadth of my data is youth's creativity and strategy in their teamwork microdevelopment. Drawing on peers as resources, youth actively developed insights, rule-of-thumbs, strategies, orientations, perspectives, skills, and principles which they deployed strategically. This theme relies on the fruits of my RQ2 analysis of agentic processes. The active contributions of youth to the production and direction of their own learning are reviewed. I point out creativity and strategy in the ways youth learn in a variety of teamwork episodes, in their use of the negative in the positive, and in their cognition around teamwork.

The first indicator of youth's creativity in learning was the sheer variety of teamwork microdevelopmental episodes. The Corps members analyzed the circumstances of diverse situations to

construct their own conclusions and understandings around peer interactions. Their attentiveness to potential learning opportunities traversed social distance (cf. vicariousness) and included the range of peers with whom they came into contact. Beyond this extensive scope of teamwork situations to learn from, youth's versatility in reasoning can be seen in the use of diverse methods to contemplate situations with their peers. I analyzed youth's reasoning about peers for both categories, Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars. The former represented ways of accommodating and accepting peers from the stance of seeing peers as people. The learning youth achieved included discerning "work personalities," identifying and adjusting to coworkers' preferred task techniques, grasping extenuating circumstances for behavior, and making connections between peers' and learners' own experiences.

For Peers as Exemplars, meanwhile, learners assessed peers' impact on the team, detected the problem in certain interactions, distinguished ways that teammates were especially helpful, and, often, assembled new strategies and understandings that transcended the initial situation. The group of episodes where youth were re-strategizing on the basis of peer exemplars gives the richest illustration of creativity and strategy. In these cases, youth reported a succession of reasoning that took youth far beyond the original example and that drew on their own innovative ideas for reformulating teamwork. This could be seen in the many rich examples of youth re-strategizing their own teamwork on the basis of peer exemplars. The variation in pathways for youth's thinking across the episode evince their creativity in directing their own learning in synchrony with the various interpersonal circumstances afforded by the Clore Corps program.

I next return to the description of Theme 1 to show how youth's utilization of the negative reflects their creativity and strategy. First, I must reframe my perspective from that of a positive youth development researcher finding the negative in the positive (agentic and constructive peer processes). From the standpoint of the youth, it may be more accurate to say they were making positive (learning and teamwork) out of negative (events, emotions, etc.) or a sort of "making lemonade out of lemons," to use a common metaphor. By reformulating the action as making positive from the negative, the driven, goal-oriented nature of youth's efforts becomes apparent. Trent "put on a happy face" when working with an "annoying kid," but this was with the clear intention to ease their working together, in alignment with his insight that "it was just better to try to get along." Youth needed to aim their actions toward accomplishing collaboration in spite of their own biases, peers' unproductiveness, disruptive emotions, task difficulties, and a broad spectrum of interpersonal challenges. Their broad success in the episodes reported in this dissertation attests to their creativity applied in contextually appropriate ways to achieve teamwork.

Likewise, the judiciousness of youth's strategic choice between restraining judgment and enacting evaluation is manifest in how they chose to act in ways apposite to the particular situation. It is

also clear how, to do this, youth were balancing intra- and interpersonal processes, agentic and constructive peer processes. Youth's innovative and agentic actions in response to their team situations impelled positive peer interactions. Prosocial intentions, to make positive out of negative, helped youth creatively and strategically push their teamwork success and microdevelopment forward.

My next points about creativity and strategy return to the ideas of cognitive and developmental capacities in the adolescent period. I apply the concept of youth as “producers of their own development” to describe their active reasoning about teamwork (Lerner, 2002). Youth creatively overcame internal challenges such as frustration and anger with teammates, preconceptions of co-workers, or incomprehension of peers. Their executive suite and metacognitive skills enabled them to not succumb to setbacks in the process. Instead, youth used the various reasoning methods from the findings chapter to surpass the real-world complications of teamwork. My retrospective, narrative approach spotlighted the rational, sequential progression of learning processes. Youth did report, though, having to expend effort to achieve the microdevelopment that allowed them to complete tasks with new peer group after new peer group. Without the metacognitive capacity of adolescence, learners would not have been able to work through challenging team situations, learn through extended episodes leading up to prosocial goals, and build insights and observations into strategies.

Similarly, by attending to and learning from particular events in the busy Clore Corps environment, youth also displayed strategic determination. Paradise and Rogoff (2009) discuss the significance of “intent participation” for learning; describing how, for children, “the act of observing is often pursued with concentrated energy, attuned in keen perception for finding out about the activity” (p. 110). With adolescents, likewise, their greater command of cognitive resources enables a more planful and directed observation. The youth in the Clore Corps attended to only a fraction of the happenings in a busy kitchen, but singled out exemplars and events from which they could draw knowledge. Fortes (1938/1970) had a similar sociocultural insight about microdevelopment, saying that each “advance in knowledge or skill is pragmatic, directed to achieve a result there and then” (p. 38). This practicality was evident in the episodes of teamwork development from the Clore Corps.

It was clear in youth's stories how new insights and intents, skills and strategies, aided them in the moment. Denise had the insight that “you have to be more open to other peoples' ideas, instead of just thinking, ‘Oh, my idea's the right idea.’” This helped her be receptive to Tanya and Caitlin's suggestion that they not split up the tasks, but all work together for the duration of the meal. Denise elected to give up her “stubborn” attachment to her own idea and ended up supporting the faster way her peers suggested. Denise implied that she had known that being open-minded was good before being in the Clore Corps, but in this moment, she enacted that belief “differently than [she] normally would” and it was successful. Youth's keen attunement based on their prior understandings of teamwork allowed them to direct their

attention in a way that contributed knowledge to existing frameworks. Furthermore, youth constructed collaborative skills and strategies that enhanced their individual functioning in a cooperative group. Learners' strategy and creativity enabled the variety of context-dependent gains youth made in teamwork in the Clore Corps.

This theme also brings the discussion back to the idea of youth's agency in learning. I initially posited agentic processes as partially in opposition to certain simplistic and negative conceptualizations of peers in adolescent development. Research Question 2 in this dissertation inquires after the role of learners themselves in conjunction with peer involvement in learning. This question is addressed in the description of the theme of creativity and strategy. Creative and strategic choices, intentions, and courses of action and thought constitute agency in teamwork microdevelopment. The input of peers in learning—the constructive peer processes—is not absorbed or spread via *contagion*, rather, youth described making use of peers' involvement to determine their own learning. The theme of creativity and strategy across episodes establishes agentic processes *in conjunction with* constructive peer processes, not *despite* or *in addition to* them.

Implications and Future Directions

Next, I present some prominent implications of this study. I discuss the study's place in the research literature, what practitioners can take from the results, and how the choices I made for this research have shaped the project.

Implications for research. For researchers, this dissertation speaks most directly to work on positive youth development programs and camps specifically. I begin with the consideration of how programs differ.

Intensity, duration, and breadth of participation are documented as important factors for macrodevelopmental outcomes in youth programs (Denault & Poulin, 2009; National Research Council, 2000). No work that I know of, though, speaks to what intensity and breadth might mean for microdevelopmental processes. What program processes differ between a biweekly program over the course of a school year and an intensive, residential three-week camp program? How do these differences affect learning? These questions are integral to understanding camp as a unique setting for positive youth development and, indeed, differentiating among the vast diversity of program offerings across the United States. My findings in light of the description of the Clore Corps program setting point to some of the special affordances of a summer camp setting. For instance, I attribute the creative variety of youth's learning, not only to their aptitude, but also to the opportunity to work with peer group after peer group in the randomized Corps schedule. I imagine the relational processes offered by the program structure are also distinct in how they shape the velocity and potency by which friendships, program culture, and shared values and norms develop. Ultimately, contemplation of Clore Corps as a developmental context

brings up more questions than it answers. More thoroughly encompassing ecological studies may elucidate how the camp program setting creates particular affordances for processes and learning, especially in comparison with the similar, existing grounded theory work in after-school programs from Larson and colleagues.

Indeed, the grounded theorization of microdevelopmental (or proximal) processes in summer camps is one of this study's useful additions to the literature. Camp research shares the rest of the youth program field's problem of addressing the understudied, "black box" nature of program processes. Other researchers' work documenting social skill gains (e.g. Garst et al., 2011) is useful for legitimizing summer camps as a youth development settings, but my project hints at the ways that camps give unique opportunities. Residential camp settings allow for teamwork development to happen in particular ways as a result of their program structure. For the simple tasks of the Clore Corps, for instance, youth's collaboration hinges on concessions over undesirable duties. One would likely expect efforts to be aligned differently were complicated strategy required for the youth to succeed. Future studies of the many documented camp outcomes could qualitatively examine how such program features shape learning in confluence with other contextual processes. Ecological research on developmental experiences can provide sufficient detail to describe how program design undergirds learning in particular ways.

This project was not just similar to existing work on teamwork in after-school programs. This dissertation makes distinct contributions to theorizing teamwork microdevelopment. By foregrounding peers, this project adds to the ecological theorization of learning in youth programs, which often devotes more space to the role of adults in development (e.g., Larson, 2007). The most thorough qualitative exploration of prosocial development in youth programs to date includes a paragraph on the process of youth "learning from experiences" (Larson, 2007) and another case study on value development (Larson et al., 2012). My work gives an expansive analysis of what this process might look like. The stories youth told in my interviews highlighted both the variety of experiences that youth learn from in out-of-school settings and the ways that peers can participate in these learning processes. The peer processes that I trace show various ways that youth can be around agemates, be learning from them in a positive way, and still exercise agency in directing their own development. As Thomas Dishion's (and others') work has laid out multiple mechanisms (e.g. deviancy training) for negative influence (Dishion & Tipsord, 2011), my work highlights an analogue for constructive peer processes. My examples lay a groundwork for exploring mechanisms of positive influence.

Implications for practice. For youth program leaders, I consider the presence of the negative in the positive to constitute another in a long list of professional dilemmas of practice (Larson & Walker, 2010). Skillful practitioners must navigate how much of the negative they are comfortable with in the program, in addition to how and whether to respond. This project suggests that bad things can happen in a

program, leaders can do nothing, and it can all turn out quite well in terms of learning and prosocial development. Of course, the leaders are not really doing nothing, as I have argued (Perry, 2015). Rather, they are not intervening in (nor are even present for!) all the interactions and events that youth encounter in the program.

An initial analysis suggested that youth saw leaders having a part in the learning they reported. They suggested leaders' importance for setting the norms and atmosphere of the program, serving as interpersonal models and relational resources, in addition to the sometime role of advising and mediating social situations (Perry, 2015). Youth also went to leaders for some problems. For program leaders, then, the onus is less on them to interpose themselves into each negative event. And this may not even be leaders' tendency, given that other research shows that experienced leaders restrain overbearing adult imposition (or authority) in order to support youth goals and autonomy (Larson, Izenstark, Rodriguez, & Perry, 2015). In sum, my analysis, using the perspectives from youth accounts, suggests a picture of teamwork microdevelopment where leaders are backgrounded to the creative learning efforts of youth with their peers. Yet my knowledge of the program and of the data not presented here indicates that leaders do make important contributions to constructive processes, even among youth and their peers. Seeing and understanding how youth can support one another's learning, through good moments and bad, is a dilemma for program leaders to continue to consider.

With regard to youth's creativity and agency in their learning, I believe there are related implications for leaders to think about. After acknowledging that youth learn through constructive peer processes, leaders can work to support these and youth's agency in them. Indeed, with knowledge of the sequencing of learning episodes, leaders can reflect on their role at each step. Leaders could think about directing youth's attention to situations and peers of the sort that others have learned from. They could facilitate the reframing of negative circumstances, aid in the re-strategizing around peer examples, or show ways to accept and accommodate each other. Leaders could give counsel when it would be helpful for youth to restrain judgment. In complement to this case, leader's advice could also reflect techniques for being discriminating as a part of youth's evaluation and assimilation of teamwork skills and strategies. Thinking about how to indirectly model, encourage, and tailor the program culture to be conducive to microdevelopmental teamwork processes, leaders also must operate from a standpoint that respects youth's own creative and agentic selves. Facilitating these learning processes necessitates a careful navigation between erring toward extremes of doing the thinking for youth and leaders' noninvolvement. An explicit consideration of how youth direct their own learning and make sense of collaboration gives leaders the ability to support youth in their own prosocial goals.

These findings are, of course, to be considered in light of the particular setting in which they took place. A pertinent question for practitioners and youth program administrators asks what aspects of the

program afforded the opportunities for learning described in this dissertation. It is also relevant to consider *how* programs allow for learning and whether and to what extent the situations are transferable or relevant to other contexts.

One interesting program feature for consideration is the randomization of Clore Corps schedules. I assert that randomly assigning jobs for each work period contributes to the power of the teamwork learning that occurs in the Corps program. It augments the intensity of peer experiences, obliging collaboration with more teammates, in a relatively short-duration program. I think that theorizing the role of randomization in the ecology of teamwork development at Camp Clore, then, draws attention to the actual, on-the-ground implementation of program features across settings. The Clore Corps makes use of randomization to broaden the social experiences of the youth in the program, but makes adjustments in response to situational and contextual contingencies.

The consideration of the program feature of randomization begs the question of how programs can be designed from both an ecological and holistic perspective, while drawing on the knowledge and successes of other youth programs. Can the intense, peer-oriented nature of the Clore Corps be replicated in nonresidential programs that meet twice a week over the course of a school year? In response, I refer to the ways that different aspects of program design contribute to particular affordances in line with program goals. The design feature of schedule randomization works in concert with the intensive peer experiences afforded in a residential environment. The randomization also takes particular forms in response to leader needs, organizational restraints, and youth needs. It is this thoroughly contextualized conceptualization that is most informative. The case of the Clore Corps program and my ecological analysis of learning processes suggests researchers attend carefully to the ecology of *best practices*, and how various program features constitute the cultures and contexts of complex real-world settings. Random scheduling as a program feature, then, is best considered as it fits into a particular setting. For administrators and practitioners, the task remains to integrate ideas into their own practice, in the contexts that they know.

Limitations and future directions. Several limitations merit mention in interpreting the conclusions of this study. In conjunction with my comments above about context, I bring up the limited generalizability of this project. While I have drawn theoretical connections to Larson's (and others') developmental work, this study was more limited in scale. I studied a single program at a single site. This particular camp setting had limited socioeconomic and racial diversity, not being representative of this country's teenaged population. The unique possibilities of camps also represent an important difference when considering the development in those settings. An ecological account must acknowledge the certainty of dissimilar developmental processes according to setting and participant. Different accounts of learning might highlight processes that are less prominent for white middle-class youth. Yet others may

reveal different ways that agentic and constructive peer processes work to shape a developmental experience.

Furthermore, for all my discussion of peers and their role in development, it is important to keep in mind that my interviews asked youth to look outward at their teammates. I asked youth in individual interviews to reflect on peers' roles in learners' own microdevelopment. I did not study learning episodes from the perspectives of all involved parties, just from the learners'. One might expect that characterizations of peer actions as negative or unhelpful, for instance, to be complicated by other actors' accounts. Further data triangulation could include interviewing multiple youth *about the same learning episode* or having leaders weigh in about how adolescent peers contribute to teamwork development. Other reports would enrich and complicate the depiction of learning processes.

Method triangulation, moreover, could also elaborate the theorization of how youth learn teamwork. An observational component would add ethnographic insight and bring an episode further out of the intrapersonal cognitive realm and more clearly relate to social or co-participatory processes. Focus groups or multi-person interviews could give more of a sense of how dyads or groups accomplish and improve teamwork collaboratively. A combination of added method and data triangulation could flesh out the ecology of processes. More details, and even contradictions, regarding microdevelopment would strengthen theoretical insights into the complex, disorderly world where learning takes place (Larson, 2011). Method and data triangulation could confirm, expand, correct, and enrich the analysis of learning teamwork presented here.

One other basic factor to recall, when considering this project's contributions, is the commonalities between the roles of research interviewer and camp leader. Indeed, I felt similarity between these interviews and aspects of my work at Camp Clore. Camp Clore's coaching evaluations share a goal of my research interviews in trying to get youth to consider and reflect on their experiences and learning. I think the effect of changing how youth think about teamwork – changing their learning – is unintended, or at least under-considered, in similar qualitative research. However, the adult's role (Corps leader or researcher) of co-constructing learning in dialogue with youth is a significant concern in researchers' theorization of development. I think this iatrogenic³⁸ effect of research is acceptable, as long as this researcher participation is acknowledged. In fact, researchers may consider issues such as the extent to which they reinforce or challenge program meanings or bring external conceptualizations and to what purpose. For me in this project, I believe I clung closely to discussing teamwork and learning as would be comprehensible in the program context and as would let youth make contributions within a familiar framework.

³⁸ I revert to positive connotations of the root of this word (it comes from the Greek for *heal*)

As with most choices, I think this decision both strengthens and limits my contributions. Leveraging my indigenous (to the Camp Clore culture) knowledge helped me build rapport rapidly and amass in-depth data around topics and situations I determined were relevant to youth. On the other hand, this insider perspective risked taking shared understandings or meanings for granted. I think I balanced these two matters by incorporating a broad consideration of the research literature and reflexive memoing to critically examine assumptions and preconceptions. Nevertheless, researchers playing other roles and coming from different perspectives (and from different epistemological premises) would develop other insights into youth program processes. In sum, the resemblance of my interviews to discussions already held at camp let me convey youth's accounts on their terms (as camp participants), but as an insider with outside knowledge.

A final consideration for interpreting this project and for moving this research agenda forward concerns episodes outside of the two focal categories of Peers as People and Peers as Exemplars. Episodes with fewer similarities to others were grouped in categories that were later dropped (i.e. *peers as dependers*) or were never categorized at all. As a result, only the most common ways to relate to peers in the course of one's Clore Corps learning are represented. Left unanalyzed were many interesting stances toward peers. Surely, the inclusion of more categories (based on episodal stances) would enrich the analysis and highlight more diversity in constructive peer processes and, concomitantly, the agentic processes in dialogue with peer involvement. Perhaps the major themes would not be as prominent across more various categories. Future work would do well to account for less common orientations toward peers.

Conclusions

To conclude, I contemplate once more the principal contributions of this dissertation. The comparative description of learning-episode features, to begin with, gives rich depictions of the negative in the positive. Findings from narrative data reveal negative events' place in constructive peer processes. In the stories that youth shared, learners' were not thwarted by the challenging circumstances of group work, rather they overcame or even made use of them as springboards for further learning. The creative and strategic element of their learning is another highlight of my paper. Youth reiterate prosocial values as they find many ways to reconcile task challenges with complex interpersonal dynamics. Their respect for their peers as people is evident in both their restraint of judgment to get work done and in evaluating others' exemplars in their own compilation of a repertoire of teamwork skills and strategies. Youth in the Clore Corps employed creativity and strategy to make sense of and make learning out of the negative in the positive.

This study's approach to conscious development, moreover, integrates collaborative processes (Rogoff, 1998) into youth's production of their own development (Larson, 2000; Lerner, 2002). My

qualitative analysis of peers' roles in positive development is an important addition in the field of adolescent development. Furthermore, the research in a camp setting expands the grounded theorization of developmental processes to new program contexts. Also, by focusing on youth's own accounts and highlighting their agency, I stress that peer involvement in development does not disempower youth. Rather, constructive peer processes and agentic processes were co-constitutive in their contributions to teamwork microdevelopment. This assertion encapsulates my cumulative claims in this dissertation about development in the Clore Corps. It is my formulation in response to the question of how youth learn teamwork.

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Appendix A: Example of a Learning Episode

SCP: *Do you think you've gotten better at working well with all sorts of different people [in the Clore Corps]?*

Brad: Yeah. I used to not be able to work with anybody. I was terrible, I wouldn't listen to anybody, I was defiant. But now I notice when I go home, instead of just sitting around, I ask my Mom what I can do and what needs to be done. And I do things by myself.

SCP: *When you first came to the Corps did you have to learn from like the mistake of not trying to get along with other people or being defiant at first?*

Brad: Yeah I had to fix that ground when I was doing different jobs I would have different things that I would do and I would have to get along with other people and what they did.

SCP: *Why do you think that changed? Can you think of a time where being defiant or stubborn didn't work out for you?*

Brad: Um, yeah. I was sweeping and I was sweeping it over into a corner to get it later. And I was sweeping it from this side of the room all the way over there. And I was being defiant, I wouldn't just put it in a new pile. I was going over, all the way over there. And I was just making a bigger mess, just spreading it all around. And it didn't work out, and they pointed that out to me later, that I was just making a big mess.

SCP: *And how'd you take it when they pointed that out?*

Brad: I was like, it just hit me, and I was like, Oh Yeah, I made a big mess. That was an inconvenience to everybody else.

SCP: *And then you did it a different way after that?*

Brad: Yeah I made little piles here and there.

SCP: *Did they say it in like a nice way or a mean way or a way...*

Brad: Oh they said it in a nice way, they were like, pointed out like, you know, you're making a big mess over there, just like mopping things around, just spreading it around.

...

SCP: *Is there anything that made you realize that you had to try harder to work with other people?*

Brad: Yeah other people helped me realize that I need to work better with other people because those other people were like really accepting and nice and they slowly pointed it out and helped me get there.

Appendix B: Early-stage Interview Guide

This guide from the beginning of the summer 2011 interviews reflects an earlier, more exploratory, and less structured stage of interviewing and theorizing.

Teamwork Situations

1. A lot of people working together can have lots of different ideas for how to do things. Did that happen while you were working in the Corps? What did you do? [Probe to get the whole story] Was that the first time something like that had happened? [follow-up with what they did, and whether their approach to the issue changed and how]
2. What about people that just seemed to think differently than you ever would? Can you think of a time like that? What happened? How did you deal with that?
3. Did it ever seem like you weren't seeing eye to eye with someone? Or that you just weren't trying to accomplish the same thing? Tell me about that.
4. Were there times when you felt that you could really identify with and understand where people were coming from (when you were working together)? What was unique about this experience?
5. Did you ever feel like your (the whole?) group was working and communicating really well together? What was going on that you think was good? How did you help make that happen?
6. Did you ever have to go along with the way someone else wanted to do things [when you were working]? Did you have to compromise? What did you hope to accomplish by going along with them?
7. What do you do when the whole group agrees on something [doing things one way] except for one person [who is not you]?
8.
 - a. Did you have to do anything differently to work successfully with other people? Did you have to change how you work? (AW: What does it take to work successfully with others?)
 - b. How did you figure that out? Did you try anything else first?
9.
 - a. Do you think you've gotten better at working [well] with different kinds[types] of people in the Corps? Can you think of a time that really shows that? [exemplifies this growth?]
 - b. What was better/so good about this time? How might you have acted in a similar situation before the Corps or at the beginning?
10.
 - a. Was it easy to accommodate/work together [if they mentioned it:] (be empathic)? What enabled you to work with others/be so empathic?
 - b. Was there something that made you realize [you had to work with them/they were like you]?

Probing Questions around Learning Processes

11. Did you have any past experiences that helped you figure these things out? Any group work or teamwork that helped you figure out how to work as a team [or do something mentioned above]?
12. Did anyone help you to figure out the things you did about working with other people/accommodating others?
13. Was there anyone in the Corps that did a really good job of accommodating everyone and working together with a lot of different people? What did they do?
14. Did you ever learn anything about teamwork from seeing how others in the Corps were working together? What happened?

Broader Questions

15.
 - a. What do you think it is that makes camp different? (in comparison with somewhere else)
 - b. Why is accommodation/teamwork different here?
16. What advice would you have for someone about how best to work successfully in a team? It can be specific to camp or Corps or not.
17. What do you think you is the best way to learn (that)?
18. Is there anything else you want to add about teamwork (or thing you've learned)?

Appendix C: Clore Corps Leader Data

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name*</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Did Clore Corps as teen?</i>	<i>Was Unit Leader of Program?</i>	<i>In college or graduated?</i>
2011	Alex	M	Y	N	College
	Hannah	F	Y	N	College
	Katie	F	N	N	College
	Sam	M	Y	Y	Graduated
	Graeme	M	N	N	College
	Becki	F	Y	Y	Graduated
	Jane	F	N	N	College
2014	Michael	M	N	Y	Graduated
	Monty	M	Y	N	Graduated
	Bryce	M	Y	N	College
	Maya	F	Y	N	College
	Grace	F	Y	N	College
	Morgan	F	Y	N	College
	Anna	F	Y	N	College
	Sam	F	Y	N	College

**Since no reference to specific leaders is included in this paper, their real first names are included here.*

Appendix D: Clore Corps Youth Data

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Old-timer or newcomer</i>	<i>Interview on Nth day of session</i>	<i>Age (in yrs.)</i>	<i>Interview Length (in min.)</i>
2011	Kevin	M	Old	11th	14.8	19
	Molly	F	Old	13	15.2	38
	Lindsey	F	Old	16	15.4	31
	Trent	M	Old	18	15.4	32
	Brad	M	Old	18	14.7	27
	Marta	F	Old	19	15.0	42
	Sean	M	Old	20	15.0	16
	Blair	F	New	20	15.0	37
	Denise	F	Old	20	15.3	21
	Natalie	F	New	11	15.4	37
	Keith	M	Old	13	14.6	22
	Tara	F	Old	15	15.0	20
	Fritz	M	Old	16	15.9	34
	Daniel	M	New	17	15.3	29
	Lillian	F	New	18	15.4	46
	Britney	F	New	19	14.9	23
	Grant	M	Old	20	15.2	26
	Bailey	M	New	12	15.8	?
	Laura	F	New	16	15.7	38
	Jenna	F	Old	16	15.2	16
	Thomas	M	Old	17	15.2	24
	Phillip	M	New	17	16.2	32
	Jesse	M	New	18	15.6	39
	Stephanie	F	New	18	15.6	39
	Dave	M	New	19	15.3	25
	Linda	F	New	19	15.1	29
<i>(continued)</i>						

Clore Corps Youth Data (cont.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Old-timer or newcomer</i>	<i>Interview on Nth day of session</i>	<i>Age (in yrs.)</i>	<i>Interview Length (in min.)</i>
2014	Elsila Pakala	F	New	10	15.5	32
	Charlotte	F	Old	10	15.1	33
	Bill	M	Old	11	15.4	21
	John Wrigley	M	New	11	15.1	16
	Terry	M	New	12	15.4	18
	Rachel	F	Old	13	14.9	18
	Aurora	M	Old	6	14.8	27
	Jake Lynn	M	Old	9	15.9	20
	Ruppert	M	New	10	15.2	23
	Taylor	F	New	10	14.9	?
	Devin	F	New	13	15.6	18
	Kyle	F	New	13	15.6	21
	Dr. Seuss	M	Old	13	15.7	26
	Steven	M	Old	6	15.6	33
	Bob the Builder	F	New	6	14.9	28
	Quinn	M	New	9	15.4	16
	Slim Shady	F	Old	9	15.1	22
	Daisy Fitzgerald	F	New	10	15.1	20
	Francesca	F	New	11	15.4	23
	Steve	M	New	13	15.1	23
	Alex	F	Old	20	14.9	21
	Mortimer	M	Old	9	15.2	25
	Sloane	F	Old	13	15.7	32
	Ben	M	New	13	15.3	17

Appendix E: Late-stage Interview Guide

This draft of the guide is what I was using toward the end of the summer 2014 interviews, reflecting changes throughout the project.

Type A

1. **POS** Is there anyone in the Corps that does a really good job of working with a lot of different people? What do they do?
2. **NEG** A lot of people working together can have lots of different ideas for how to do things. Can you think of a time like that when you were working? (AW didn't see eye to eye with someone)
3. Do you ever see people interacting in a way that doesn't help out the team?
4. Sometimes working with other people just doesn't go smoothly. Can you think of a time like that in the Corps?
5. Can you think of a time when everyone agreed on something except for one person? (AW: someone was being stubborn)
6. **SOL** Can you think of a time where somebody dealt well with conflict (between people)?
7. Did you ever have to go along with the way someone else wanted to do things (compromise) when you were working?
8. **OTH** Did anyone in the Corps ever give you any advice about how to work with other people?

Type B

1. What have you learned (most important lesson) about teamwork in the Corps?
2. What advice would you have for someone about how best to work well on a team?
3. If you had to summarize, what would you say you've learned about working well with other people in the Corps?
4. What does it take to work successfully with others?
5. Do you have to do anything differently (special) to work well with other people? Can you think of any times like that?
6. What's one thing about working with all these people in the Corps that you wish you had known coming in?
7. Do you think you've gotten better at working well with different types of people in the Corps?
 - a. Can you think of a time that really shows that?
8. Has anyone ever told you anything that helped you figure out how to work with someone in the Corps?

9. Did you ever learn anything about teamwork from seeing how others in the Corps were working together? What happened?
10. Do you (personally) have any particular strategies (AW a particular style) for successful teamwork?
11. How will you approach group work differently in the future as a result of the Corps?

Probing Questions about Learning Processes

1. How did you figure out to [do what they mentioned]?
2. Did anyone help you to know how to _____ (work with other people; something they've mentioned)?
3. What do you think you is the best way to learn (that)? (AW: how can somebody learn (that)?
4. Do you think everyone starts out good at _____?
5. How did you know to do it that way?
6. Was there something that made you realize [you had to work with them/you had to do that/they were like you]?
7. What would happen if you didn't do _____? Can you think of a time this happened?
8. What do you think it is about the Clore Corps that helped with that? [helped you figure that out]?
9. (I can see that in how you work) Would you say camp has helped you figure that out?
 - a. *How* has camp helped you figure that out
10. In general, how do people get better at working together?
11. Does anyone get worse at teamwork in the Corps? How might that happen (or why not)?
12. Can you think of a time where you learned something about teamwork in the Corps?

Probes into the Peer Relationship

1. Did you know [influencer] before camp?
2. Can you tell me more about your relationship with him/her?

Probes into Agentic Processes

1. You said you saw [peer] do [this]. Did you do the exact same thing? Why/not?
2. What do you think about responding like [that]? Does that usually help?
3. You described [following peer's example or advice], but it sounds like you made it your own. Can you say more about that?
4. What did you think about the advice s/he gave you?
5. What were you thinking about the way s/he was acting (*or what s/he was doing*)?

Type C

Probes into the Ecology of Learning

1. Have the leaders helped you figure anything out about working with people?
2. Is there something about the Corps (camp) that affects how people work together?
3. How does group work at school compare to group work at camp? (sports teams?)
4. Some people have talked about / living together /
5. Could anything be changed about the Corps to make it easier to learn teamwork?

Closing Question

Is there something else I should understand about how people learn teamwork at camp, in your opinion?

Appendix F: Parental Consent Form

TEEN TEAMWORK AT WORK

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

A Research Project by the
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Department of Human and Community Development
College of Agricultural, Consumer
and Environmental Sciences
Doris Kelley Christopher Hall, MC-081
904 West Nevada Street
Urbana, IL 61801



Dear Parent,

My name is Cole Perry and I've worked at Camp Clore from 2004-2011, spending the past three summers as a leader of the Corps. I am currently a graduate student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I am in the process of launching an exciting project about teenagers' experiences of teamwork. This project is based on my previous experience with the Corps Program and also on my work with my advisor, Dr. Reed Larson, on after-school programs for high-school students.

I am inviting young people in the Corps Program to help me with my project. Their participation will involve an interview with me about teamwork in the Corps. I will ask them to tell me about times when they were working with others and what they have learned. The questions will be open-ended to give the youth a chance to tell their story. The interview will last around one hour.

We are contacting you at this time to ask for your permission to have your child participate in one of these interviews. Your decision to permit your child's participation or not will in no way affect their standing with the Corps Program or with Camp Clore.

Other Important Information

All of the information your child provides will be kept confidential (private). I will assign anonymous ID numbers to each participant. No names will be used. The interviews will be tape-recorded to help us keep an accurate record of what people said. Only I will be able to look at the information from the project. I will not tell camp staff what your child said, although Camp Clore may use anonymous quotes for promotional purposes. When reporting results, only group patterns will be described. Individuals will not be identified.

It is up to you to decide if you want your child to take part in this study. Written parental consent is not required for teens to be in the study. However, parents who do **not** want their daughter or son to take part should tell their child. They should also return the attached form or contact me by email or telephone (contact information below). Camp begins on Sunday, June 12. Please let me know before then if you do not want your child to do the study. (If your child is enrolled in Session 2 you can still notify me before Sunday, July 3 for Session 2 or Sunday, July 24 for Session 3.)

Results may help improve youth programs and Camp Clore in particular. My advisor has done

similar projects in the past, and teens and parents usually say that being in them has been interesting and fun. We want to make this a positive experience for your family. Please consider allowing your child to take part.

If you have any questions or concerns, contact one of the study leaders (information below). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 217-333-2670 (call collect if necessary).

Sincerely,

Cole Perry, Graduate Student
Reed Larson, Ph.D., Professor

perry7@illinois.edu
larsonr@illinois.edu

Teen Teamwork at Work - Pilot Studies

IF YOU DO NOT WANT YOUR CHILD INVOLVED IN THE STUDY, PLEASE COMPLETE THIS FORM OR CONTACT ONE OF THE INVESTIGATORS.

Please print all information:

Student's First Name

Middle Initial

Last Name

Corps Session that child is participating in (1, 2, or 3), if you know

Parent or Guardian Signature

Return only if you do not want your son or daughter to participate

Mail to:

[address]

Or call:

[#]

Or contact by email:

perry7@illinois.edu

Appendix G: Youth Assent Form

Youth Assent/Consent How Teens Learn Teamwork

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Department of Human and Community Development
College of Agricultural, Consumer
and Environmental Sciences
Doris Kelley Christopher Hall, MC-081
904 West Nevada Street
Urbana, IL 61801



I understand that:

- (1) The goal of this study is to find out **how teens like me learn about teamwork** from working at camp.
- (2) **My parents were sent a letter about the study.** If my parents prefer that I not participate they have notified the researchers.
- (3) Any member of the Corps program is eligible for selection in this project. I will be speaking one-on-one with a research team member. The researcher will **ask about my experiences** working in the Corps. This interview will take place where **we will not be overheard.**
- (4) This interview will be **audio taped** to keep an accurate record, unless I tell the researcher that I am uncomfortable with this, then only written notes will be taken. The interview may last around **an hour in length.**
- (5) This study carries **risks no greater than those normally encountered** in teens' daily lives.
- (6) The researchers will keep the **information that I provide private (confidential).** All participants' responses will be combined and I will not be identified by name, when this research is shared.
- (7) I understand participation is **voluntary**, that **I may skip any questions** I choose not to answer, and **I may stop participating at any time** without affecting my standing in my program. If at any point I decide not to participate, I will continue with the Corps program activities as usual and nothing about my experience at camp will be affected.
- (8) Although participating in this study may have **no immediate benefit**, many teenagers find this type of interview to be interesting. Further, this study may help improve youth programs, which may benefit me, Camp Clore, and other teenagers in the long run.
- (9) I understand that the study's **results may be presented** in conferences and/or published in academic papers *without any information that identifies me.*
- (10) I understand that the [organization] and **Camp Clore may use quotations or stories** that I provide *without identifying information.*

Any questions about this study may be directed to Cole Perry at [#] or Dr. Reed Larson at [#] (larsonr@illinois.edu). If you have questions concerning your rights as a participant you can call the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board (IRB) collect at [#] or email irb@illinois.edu. If you want one, a copy of this form will be given to you for your records.

I choose to: Participate _____ Not participate _____

Please print your full name: _____
First Name Middle Initial Last Name

Your signature: _____